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# THE ART BULLETIN

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FIG. 1—Cambridge, Harvard University, Widener Memorial Collection:  
*Tight Lacing*, by Rowlandson

# A ROWLANDSON CHRONOLOGY

By RICHARD M. BAUM

THE problem of an accurate chronology of the thousands of water color drawings of Rowlandson (1756-1827) is as yet unsolved. For a tentative chronology one is forced to rely upon selected examples from various English and American Collections. Over one hundred and fifty drawings in the Widener Memorial Collection of Harvard University are attributed to Rowlandson. These have an honorable provenience, having been acquired by Harry Elkins Widener from the English Collections of Sir William Augustus Fraser and Clarence S. Bement. The drawings herewith reproduced were selected for stylistic distinction and contrasts and may serve as a point of departure for those interested in the development in style of this prolific master of both drawings and prints.

A detailed chronology would serve a most useful purpose in assisting critics and connoisseurs to establish the authenticity of a drawing by virtue of its date of production, if given, and its stylistic relation to drawings produced at the same time. It must be remembered that the eye is the final court of appeal, since the external evidence is not altogether trustworthy in the case of Rowlandson. Indeed, drawings which appear to have been studies for etchings may, upon the basis of a stylistic chronology, prove to have been executed after the published prints.<sup>1</sup> Again, where a date is affixed to a drawing which differs markedly in its style from others of the same but established date, a sound stylistic chronology will prove a safeguard against error. The fact that Rowlandson did not himself sign or date most of his drawings is the cause of these complications.

What are the sources upon which one may depend, then, in order to establish the development of this master's art? For internal evidence there is primarily the comparison of style with that of drawings of established dating. The relationship of the drawing to a published print or book illustration is a valuable secondary source, although it must be born in mind that the prints were sometimes republished without the original dates of execution or not published until several years after their execution.<sup>2</sup> For external evidence such as factual comment, one is forced to rely upon Rowlandson's associates, such as Henry Angelo and W. H. Pyne,<sup>3</sup> whose rather nebulous reminiscences were doubtless made still hazier by the cheering cup they may have shared with the artist. Angelo's *Reminiscences* contains, biographically, little more than a few anecdotes. There is no mention of dates other than in a very general way. However, he is the source for our knowledge that the artist was intimate with John Raphael Smith and George Morland, and also that Rowlandson visited the Low Countries, Germany, and France with Angelo, John Bannister, and

1. An example of this occurs in the Widener drawing *Grog on Board*, folio 16, where the resemblance to the etching dated 1785 is unquestionable. But the etching was not published until 1789 and the drawing is dated 1789. Moreover, the author of the drawing copied the etcher's technique as several coarse hatched lines serve to indicate. Hence, it was done after the etching and is not the original study for the plate.

2. An example of the former is *Amputation*, executed in 1783, cf. Grego, *Rowlandson the Caricaturist*, I, p. 107,

London, 1880, and republished in 1793 by S. W. Fores with the date added as 1793.

3. Angelo, Henry, *Reminiscences, with memoirs of his late father and friends, including numerous original anecdotes and curious tales of the most celebrated characters that have flourished during the last eighty years.*, London, 1830, 2 v. *Idem.*, *Picnic or Table-talk*, London, 1834. Pyne, William Henry, *Wine and Walnuts; or After Dinner Chit-Chat*, London, 1823.



Henry Mitchell, the banker. Angelo is inclined to nod where, in his earlier volume, he states that he and Rowlandson were inseparable companions as boys and then, in a later volume of reminiscences, writes that he first met Rowlandson when the latter was studying in Paris.<sup>4</sup> And these external sources are further deficient in that they supply us no clue as to why Rowlandson changed his style about 1790 and again toward 1815.

It is on the basis of the catalogues of the Royal Academy exhibitions<sup>5</sup> for 1775, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1783, 1786 and 1787, in which years the artist contributed at least one drawing, that one may establish with comparative certainty the chronology of his early works. After 1787 the artist does not exhibit and one is compelled to fall back upon the prints and illustrations. Rowlandson's early prints furnish us little or no proof of their chronological authenticity because of the reprints and piracies practiced, and it is hence a happy coincidence that we have the above-mentioned exhibition catalogues for that early period.

As for the signatures and dates affixed to the drawings, one must view them with the utmost caution. Rowlandson was at times asked to sign and date drawings long after their original inception. That either his memory proved fallible or that he was tempted to increase the value of a drawing by giving a false date seems certain from disconcerting evidence in this connection. Mr. Oppé testifies that he has seen obviously authentic dates which were ten years earlier than the watermark of the paper.<sup>6</sup> And there is always the possibility that both date and signature are forgeries.

#### THE EARLY PERIOD, 1774-1790

According to Oppé, the earliest drawing which can be securely dated is *The School of Eloquence*, in the Royal Library at Windsor. Of this a print was made in 1780, probably the year of the drawing.<sup>7</sup> But at least eight years earlier, at the age of sixteen,<sup>8</sup> the artist paid his first visit to Paris, where he entered an art school. Unfortunately, his sketches there from life, for which he became distinguished among his contemporaries, are lacking.<sup>9</sup> However, there is in the Widener Collection a drawing which might be assigned to as early as 1774, the year of Rowlandson's second visit to the French capital, where he arrived shortly after the death of Louis XV. This drawing<sup>10</sup> represents an elderly man, extremely slender, who wears a court costume of such subdued character that it suggests a mourning garb. There is a predominance of portraiture over caricature which characterizes most of Rowlandson's work before 1785. A further characteristic is the reinforced pen line, which gives a thick, swelling contour. The hair of the elaborate coiffure is indicated in a stylized calligraphic fashion which appears frequently in the earlier productions of this draftsman.

Caricature in the "grand style," however, appears in the monochrome drawing, *The Enraged Physicians* (Fig. 2),<sup>11</sup> which is similar to *The School of Eloquence* in its comic

4. Mr. A. P. Oppé points out this contradiction of facts in his *Thomas Rowlandson, His Drawings and Water Colours*, New York, 1923, p. 3.

5. These are at present inaccessible to the author, but Grego, I, pp. 22 ff., mentions the following contributions: 1785, Vauxhall Gardens, An Italian Family and The Serpentine River; 1786, An English Review, A French Review, Opera Gallery, A French Family, and A Coffee House; 1787, French Barracks, Grog on Board a Ship, Countrymen Sharpers, and The Morning Dram. Most of the above were engraved and published.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 6. The author has not been able to examine the watermarks of the Widener drawings due to their present state of preservation, i.e.; the drawings have come from the earlier collections pasted flat upon boards in

bound folio and quarto. He believes that the fluoroscope would be of inestimable assistance in revealing the watermarks.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8. For reproduction see *ibid.*, pl. I. It is to be assumed that the dates of the Royal Academy drawings from 1777-1780 are unchallenged.

8. Grego, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

9. He was said to have rivaled Mortimer at the Academy in his studies of the human figure, Grego, I, p. 94.

10. Folio 41. Grego, I, p. 147, describes a print published May 4, 1784, *La Politesse Française*, or, *The English Ladies*, a Petition to his Excellency the Mushroom Ambassador [of Louis XVI in this case]. I have not yet seen this print.

11. Folio 10. Pen and India ink wash, 9½" w. × 8½" h.



FIG. 2—*The Enraged Physicians*

*Cambridge, Harvard University, Widener Memorial Collection:  
Drawings, by Rowlandson*



FIG. 3—*Death and the Cook*





exaggeration of attitude and feature. It is the sort of *caricatura* in which Hogarth occasionally indulged, as in his *Characters and Caricatures* and *The Arms of the Undertaker's Company*<sup>12</sup> and derives more or less directly in style from the prints and drawings of Pier Leone Ghezzi and indirectly from the work of the Carracci.<sup>13</sup> Five enraged physicians are represented in aggressive attitudes, armed with such symbols of their profession as knives, a mortar and pestle, and a squirt gun. Since this drawing is unfinished, particularly in the lower right hand corner, one may note the artist's fondness for reënforcing his pencil foundation with a thick pen line, particularly to strengthen the contours. It is also to be observed that the succession of short, curved, and even angular strokes are connected so closely with one another that they appear to have been done in one unbroken sweep of the pen. Rowlandson's pencil lines show great freedom, which is not lost in the added pen strokes. He maintains this spirit of vitality by his consistency of treatment. Nowhere is there refined or minute detail; all is rough, free, and flowing. Italian influence is strong in the emphasis upon the distortion of the features. The bodily movements are admirably suggested. As Rowlandson advances in his artistic development, the emotional expression is rendered rather through bodily movement than by *caricatura* of features. In the above drawing those familiar with Ghezzi's drawings and prints may see the possibility of an influence.<sup>14</sup> The Norman Collection in Florence includes a drawing in the same style, which is undated, *An Assembly of Creditors*.<sup>15</sup>

The Card Table (Fig. 5) belongs to the period between 1780 and 1785.<sup>16</sup> In any case, it cannot have been executed later than 1790, since it shows none of the qualities we associate with the years following that date. The costumes worn are those of the 1780's. There is the thick, reënforced, curved, and apparently unbroken pen line. Moreover, a close approximation to the local tones of the costume distinguishes the early work from that executed in the transitional period (after 1790) when a more arbitrary and conventionalized arrangement is followed. Violet, blue and yellow-green, all of high value and almost full intensity are employed, while a touch of warmth is supplied by the red-orange jacket worn by the officer seated to the left at the table. The lady upon the officer's left, wears the type of hat popularized by Gainsborough a few years back. The Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, executed by Gainsborough about 1775 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1777, will serve as an example.<sup>17</sup> Rowlandson's preoccupation with portraiture here also helps us to establish this as of the early period. Although none of the figures can be positively identified, they appear too strongly individualized for caricature.<sup>18</sup>

There seems to be no reason to dispute the date 1786 affixed to *A Fire at an Inn* (Fig. 4).<sup>19</sup> The drawing is substantially the same as the etching which was published in 1791.<sup>20</sup>

12. Plates 53 and 40. *The Works of Hogarth*, Boston, 1876.

13. I hope soon to be able to trace and establish the relationship of these earlier Italian draftsmen to the later English masters. Another instance of caricature occurs in *The Reception of a New Member into the Society of Antiquarians* (Society of Antiquarians, London), but there is some attempt at individualizing a few of the figures, grotesque as they may appear. Reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 14.

14. Ghezzi (1674-1755) did relatively few etchings but his drawings were known in England as was probably the *Raccolta di XXIV Caricature*, Dresden, 1750, which were engraved by Matthias Oesterreich.

15. For reproductions see Maraini, Antonio, *Alcuni acquarelli inediti di Thomas Rowlandson in Dedalo, Anno I*, v. 2, 1920, pp. 476-485.

16. Folio 13. Pen and water color, 16" w. x 12" h.

17. For a reproduction see Mrs. Arthur Bell's *Thomas Gainsborough*, London, 1897, opposite p. 76.

18. A possible exception to this is the head of the elderly lady in the right background which approaches caricature. The *Portrait of a Lady*, owned by Messrs. Ellis and Smith, shows a decided influence from Gainsborough in its decorative conception. The costume is painted in neutralized reds, and in blues slightly neutralized. Reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

19. Folio 17. 21½" w. x 14½" h.

20. Etched by Rowlandson and aquatinted by T. Malton. I have not seen the original print. I strongly suspect that Grego has taken certain liberties with the subject in his reproduction after the print (*op. cit.*, I, p. 300 f.). For example, in Grego's reproduction, the scantily clad man leaning out of the window and supporting one leg on the ladder does not hurl the contents of a chamber pot into the flames in the adjoining room. This receptacle has been

The English Review (Royal Library, Windsor), produced during 1786 and exhibited at the Academy, confirms the style as of this date.<sup>21</sup> A man who loses his hat in his struggle to control his restless horse is strikingly similar to the figure in this drawing, in the left foreground, who clutches his wig in his right hand and his outer garments in his left. An interesting evidence of Rowlandson's connection with the popular literature of his age is seen in the detail of the youth carrying a terrified girl to a place of safety, the inspiration here quite possibly being that of Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*, where Peregrine carries his Emilia beyond the reach of the flames during a similar inn fire.<sup>22</sup> Further evidence of his acquaintance with literature is the Boccacciesque episode of the elderly lady to the right who, being alarmed as to the danger, has rushed forth after having seized the nearest object of protection, which she mistakenly assumed to be a hood. The color is largely restricted to the warm, red-orange tones for the glare of the flames, the rest being highly neutralized red-violet and yellow-green. The same care is given to the contours of the figures as was seen in *The Enraged Physicians*. If anything, the swelling lines here become fussy, but the insistence on these may be partially explained by the fact that the drawing was the basis for a line medium, i.e., etching, the tone being supplied for the shadows by the aquatint process.

As might be expected, Rowlandson spent some of his formative years in studying the draftsmanship of his contemporaries. In 1788 there appeared a folio of prints called *Rowlandson's Imitations of Modern Drawings*, with designs after Gainsborough, Wheatley, Mortimer, Barrett, Gilpin, Bartolozzi, Gucchi, and Cipriani.<sup>23</sup> The prints are not imitations in the literal sense but rather adaptations of improvisations on the styles of these masters. The very ease with which Rowlandson catches stylistic peculiarities makes difficult the attribution to him of drawings in this vein.<sup>24</sup> When we add to the above those etchings inspired by Dutch and Flemish landscapists, the problem of accurate attribution becomes still more difficult.

Perhaps the earliest of the satirical illustrations are the twenty plates comprising the *Picturesque Beauties of Boswell*<sup>25</sup> which caricature Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* published the year preceding, in 1785. The free, swinging, closely connected, and rather coarse pen line is carried over into the etchings. The hatching is singularly coarse and hardly subtle. Altogether, there is too much insistence upon the translation of calligraphic elements from the drawings. It is interesting to note that while these early etchings are treated as line drawings transferred to the copper plate, in Rowlandson's transitional and mature periods he tends to overcome the linear insistence by emphasizing tonal effects, such as atmosphere and luminosity. To the print connoisseur this may constitute an aesthetic defect inasmuch as etching is a linear rather than a tonal process, but we must also remember that aquatint was introduced and that the prints were intended to be hand

stupidly transformed into a sort of satchel or portmanteau. And the man is not half way out the window but is partially hidden by another who grasps the ladder. There can have been no possibility of mistaking the intention of the artist and hence no justification for this sop to Victorian modesty or fastidiousness.

21. Reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 19. Blue and red are the predominating colors.

22. Smollett, Tobias, *Peregrine Pickle*, Dublin, (Maine) 1751, 3 v. ch. 27. It is, of course, possible that Rowlandson knew this episode without having read the novel or that someone had suggested the theme, but is there not a strong probability of a direct influence in the phrase "... snatching her up in his arms, like another Aeneas, [he] bore her

through the flames to a place of safety ..."?

23. This work is inaccessible to the author.

24. There is a Bacchanal in the Widener Collection (quarto 1) which is a copy after Bartolozzi's engraving of the painting *Euphrosine*, by G. Amicone. Reproduced in J. T. Herbert's *Francesco Bartolozzi*, London, Otto, 1907, pl. 8. There are five other drawings in the collection whose derivation remains to be traced. These are *Andromeda*, *The Naiads*, *Reclining Venus*, *Satyr and Nymph Studies*, and *Lovers in a Glade* (folios 36, 38 and 47 and quartos 38 and 42 respectively).

25. 1786, C. Jackson and G. Kearsley publishers. 20 plates designed and etched by Rowlandson, "from suggestions by Collins."

colored by the "washers" hired by the publishers to suggest the effect of a colored drawing.

At the very end of the early period comes the *Excursion to Brighthelmstone*<sup>26</sup> consisting of eight plates drawn by Rowlandson and aquatinted by Alken. While the figures correspond with the characteristics of the early style as seen in the drawings, the architectural and landscape details show an advance toward the tonal. Alken, his aquatinter, has softened the vigorous pen lines of the original sketches. A very charming instance of a successful translation from the pen to the stipple engraving process occurs in *The School for Scandal*, printed on muslin at about this time,<sup>27</sup> the process transforming what might otherwise be a rather harsh black and white reproduction. Rowlandson himself disliked black ink even for his drawings; from about 1790 on most of the dark neutral tones are warmed by the addition of vermilion.

I may simply refer in passing to a few other etchings of the 1780's, a comparison of which with the drawing reproduced will show an affinity in their style. These are *Counselor and Client* (1784), *Comfort in the Gout* (1785), *Intrusion on Study, or, the Painter Disturbed* (1785), *Opera Boxes* (1785), *Love in the East* (1787), *Luxury and Desire* (1788), and, *An Epicure* (1788).<sup>28</sup>

#### THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, 1790-1800

In setting down specific dates as boundaries for a particular style it must not be assumed that they are invariable. That a change enters about 1790 can be proved by a study of drawings and prints of already authenticated dating, but elements which appear at this time are at least inherent a few years earlier; likewise the earlier manner will persist for a few years into the transitional period.

The style of the transitional period is as follows. There occasionally persists the broad, defining line but there is now much more curve and break. Line describes, equally, physical activity and expression of countenance. Portraiture drops out as satire increases. But the most remarkable and noteworthy change occurs in the color. Whereas the early work showed a fondness for local tones and a considerable reliance on broad areas of warm, neutralized tones, the new tendency is to use color as a mosaic, for decorative patterns. Small areas of warm tones are contrasted and balanced with broader areas of cool or neutralized warm tones. Soon the thick outline disappears and the drawings take on a tight, "finished" appearance, perhaps in accordance with the taste of the connoisseurs who commissioned them or possibly because of a new demand made upon Rowlandson's talents for book illustrations. This tightness of treatment is most plausibly explained, perhaps, by the fact that drawings of this character are done on a very much smaller scale, hence requiring a somewhat different approach.

A superb example of the transitional style is *Tight Lacing* (Fig. 1)<sup>29</sup> which cannot have been executed much later than 1791. The print for which this may have served as preliminary study is inferior due to the loss of freedom occasioned in the transference of the vigorous line to the plate. In the print all of the values are about even, while in the drawing the color areas hold the eye for emphasis or allow it to be swept on to more important points. The print seems static; the drawing teems with life. Yellow-green, red-violet, blue, and yellow, the colors varying from light to low light in value and slightly neutralized, give

26. *An Excursion to Brighthelmstone, made in the year 1789 by Henry Wigstead and Thomas Rowlandson*. London, G. G. and J. Robinson, 1790.

27. The Widener Collection includes this original.

28. For reproductions of the above, see Grego, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 146, 157, 169, 177-8, 218, 235, and 238 respectively.

Mr. Grenville Winthrop's collection now includes two of the three drawings for *Opera Boxes* (1785) exhibited at Scott and Fowles in 1925. Reproduced in *The Arts*, Jan. 1925, VII, p. 39.

29. Folio 6. Pen and water color, 9½" w. x 11½" h. The print is reproduced in Grego, I, p. 292.



the additional snap to this study to make it altogether admirable. It is in the transitional period that Rowlandson begins to employ vermilion in his neutral outlines, thus giving them a warm tone; this is particularly apparent in the Widener drawing. The line picks out the peculiarities of form, the fleshiness of the female figure being clearly suggested by the short curved strokes of the dress and the repetition of swelling curves in the stays. Angularity is the means by which the artist has emphasized the spindly form of the lady's tailor, quite obviously a Frenchman!

Rowlandson published *A Dutch Academy* (Fig. 7) in March, 1792. Our drawing of the same subject is probably one of several.<sup>30</sup> Had we the exact dates of Rowlandson's travels on the Continent, we might feel more certain that this was done between 1790 and 1792. Grego tells us<sup>31</sup> that, about 1778, Rowlandson extended his travels to include Flanders and Germany and that somewhat later he made a wider tour with his friend Mitchell, the banker. So truthful are the Dutch types in spite of their exaggerated features that it is easy to believe the artist had seen what he represented. The thin line here, suggesting the use of a different type pen, is possibly due to the smaller scale rather than because of the nature of the subject. Here, also, one may observe the entrance of a new color arrangement. Red, yellow, green, and violet are juxtaposed to form a harmonious, if somewhat abstract, pattern. The colors of fullest intensity are found in the foreground while the background tends to become heavily neutralized. Gone for the most part are the heavy swelling contours of the earliest period. There seems to be more daring in this composition than in the earlier ones; the varying in perspective and grouping is as convincingly impressed upon the mind by the color values as by the sureness of the draftsmanship.

The French Academy<sup>32</sup> would appear to be a companion piece. It is approximately the same size as *The Dutch Academy* and appears as studied as the latter.<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most important Widener drawing in what I have chosen to call the transitional period is *Distress*<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 6). The romantic nature of this subject at such an early period makes it imperative to establish a date. Grego gives us two references to this drawing, one of which is tantalizing indeed. Discussing the print for which this may have been the study, he writes cryptically: "Distress, from a large picture indicating the horror of shipwreck with tragic impressiveness is assigned to 1799."<sup>35</sup> What picture, where and by whom may we ask? If the print were published in 1799, it would probably have passed across the Channel shortly afterward. It is possible that Delacroix saw this print, even though he did not paint his *Shipwreck of Don Juan* until 1840.<sup>36</sup> A comparison of the two will show a general, if superficial resemblance such as the agitated helmsman, the muscular figure resting against the stern whose back is turned, and the oar athwart the gunwale.

This drawing contains the elements of the third period. Line is used to express character by means of short, curving pen strokes; it is broken to indicate a distinction in planes, as in the outstretched figures in the lower left hand corner of the boat. The drawing is largely monochrome save for the introduction of highly neutralized yellow as a wash for the back-

30. Folio 21. Pen and water color, 11  $\frac{3}{8}$ " w.  $\times$  7  $\frac{7}{8}$ " h. It is well known that Rowlandson made duplicate copies of originals for his friends. This was a popular subject.

31. *Op. cit.*, p. 59. No source is given for the above information. There is a drawing in the Desmond Coke Collection, England, dated 1791, *The Market Place, Juliers, Westphalia*. Reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 33.

32. Folio 30.

33. A much less studied drawing is in the collection of Mr. Henry Harris. It is called *Life School at the Academy* and refers, again, to the French rather than the English Academy. The "finished" quality of the Widener drawings

is probably due to the fact that they were destined to be reproduced by an etcher other than Rowlandson. Mr. Harris's drawing is reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

34. Folio 35. Pen and watercolor, 16  $\frac{3}{8}$ " w.  $\times$  12  $\frac{1}{4}$ " h.

35. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 25. Is it not possible that Géricault the Anglophile may have seen and admired this print? The fluttering sail appears strikingly similar to that in his *Raft of the Medusa*.

36. Robaut mentions a painting on wood as early as 1821, treating the subject of shipwreck, *L'Œuvre complet d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885.



FIG. 6—*Distress*



FIG. 7—*A Dutch Academy*

*Cambridge, Harvard University, Widener Memorial Collection: Drawings, by Rowlandson*



FIG. 8—*Rocky Seacoast*



FIG. 9—*Soldiers at Rest in a Square*



FIG. 10—*Interior of an Inn*

Cambridge, Harvard University, Widener Memorial Collection:  
Drawings, by Rowlandson



ground and a very much neutralized red-violet scattered at intervals. Again, there is strong evidence that the India ink has been warmed by the addition of vermillion.

In *The Comforts of Bath*, published by Fores in 1798, there is still the persistence of an occasional heavy contour line. However, this is generally limited to the more bulky male figures, and so we may accept the twelve etchings of this series as characteristic of the later transitional style. It is in the treatment of such details as the gouty and often irascible invalids who frequented this spa that Rowlandson divides honors with the great oriental draftsmen who have the power to express physical character by a few subtle, tense strokes of pen or brush.

But how is one to account for the generally reduced thickness of the lines in the etchings as well as the drawings? It can, I believe, be explained by virtue of the change in scale from the early period, a change which reduces the number of figures and architectural and landscape details. The Bath series, for example, is confined largely to interiors or to exteriors with architectural backgrounds and in each case with a relatively large number of figures. Had the lines become thicker and heavier (hence darker), the lower values would have emphasized these figures to the extent of causing them to lose their relative positions in space. The increase in the number of figures, moreover, compels the artist to relate them satisfactorily to one another as well as to their settings, whether architectural or landscape. This suggestion may also be of use in accounting for the change in color handling.<sup>37</sup> More figures are introduced; some are to be emphasized, some suppressed or subdued. Hence intense color is used in the foreground or wherever it is desired for emphasis. As the figures become less important, the color becomes lower in intensity, and in some instances no wash at all is applied to the areas within the defining contours, line itself being deemed sufficient for the description, as in the Widener drawing, *Ice Skating*.<sup>38</sup>

One must not forget that the tradition of the tinted drawing as expounded by such masters as William Gilpin (1724-1804), Paul Sandby (1725-1809), William Pars (1742-1782) and John Clevely (1745-1786) persists into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Rowlandson really never allows color to triumph over line. Thus, charming as his drawings are, they cannot be considered true water colors. It remained for John R. Cozens (1752-1799) to break almost completely with the "ground tint" tradition and this in his later days. Peter Dewint, David Cox, Thomas Girtin, and John Cotman are, however, the true forerunners of Turner.

#### THE THIRD PERIOD, 1800-1827

Rowlandson's busiest years were those from 1800 to about 1825, his last few years being spent in retirement due to ill health. From 1800 until 1808 he was fully employed, turning off a succession of caricature for R. Ackermann and S. W. Fores. At his residence, 1 James Street, Adelphi, he published his own prints. I mention his activity in the print field since I believe it has much to do with the loosening of his style, the greater freedom of expression and light handling found in this third period. Evidence of a change in his first style was forthcoming in the transitional phase, where line was employed to express character by means of short and curved strokes, broken where necessary to render planes. Oppé advances the suggestion that after 1800 purchasers of the artist's drawings were no longer

37. We cannot depend upon Rowlandson's foreign journeys as an aid in explaining this change. Rowlandson might, however, have seen the pen, water, and body colors of Hendrik Avercamp (1585-1663) a much earlier Dutch master. For a colored reproduction see in the *Commemora-*

*tive Catalogue of Dutch Art*, Oxford, 1930, *Golf on the Ice*.

38. Quarto 59. This may be compared with the similar subject by Avercamp (mentioned in note 37) for a similar use of color intensity in areas where emphasis is desirable.

content with a tint of color over the ink outline, and a wash, as they had been before 1790.<sup>39</sup> Rowlandson's choice of a new color approach may have been determined by such a desire of his patrons. But the relationship of the drawings to the prints, particularly between 1812 and 1816, provides another explanation of the new style.

Many of the plates in *The Caricature Magazine* were from drawings executed prior to 1800.<sup>40</sup> Two drawings are in the Widener Collection<sup>41</sup> which were published by Tegg in his magazine.

A commission from Ackermann in 1808 gave Rowlandson the opportunity to collaborate with Augustus Pugin in *The Microcosm of London*, a series of one hundred and four plates, depicting the exteriors and interiors of all the principal buildings in London at that period. Pugin did the architecture and Rowlandson the figures, which are admirably adapted to the scale imposed upon them by the surroundings.

As an instance of his understanding in the relationship of figures to interiors we may offer the Interior of an Inn<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 10) executed no later than 1805, although the costumes seem closer to the '90's. Much admired by connoisseurs is Rowlandson's use of blue and red of about equal value and intensity. These colors are varied with a yellow-green and yellow, somewhat naturalized. The interior architecture is rendered in a highly neutralized wash of blue at about the value of low light.<sup>43</sup> A drawing similar in composition to this although freer in style, but also undated, exists in the G. Bellingham Smith Collection.<sup>44</sup>

From 1809 until 1811 Rowlandson made contributions to Ackermann's *Poetical Magazine*, executing twenty-eight plates which afterwards became known as the First Tour of Doctor Syntax.<sup>45</sup>

For this series the drawings executed in 1809 and in 1821, differ very little in style due, naturally, to the exigencies of consistency. The Widener Memorial Collection is fortunate in having at least nine of the original studies, five of which were used for the plates.<sup>46</sup>

These drawings can definitely serve as examples of style in book illustration prior to 1812, even though some may have been executed as late as 1820, since the style remains consistent.

39. *Op. cit.*, p. 17. Rowlandson softened his drawings, creating atmosphere, refining architectural lines until they blend with the landscape, but the drawings remain tinted for all the changes.

40. Of the five volumes, containing 499 plates, 160 plates are signed by Rowlandson as designer or engraver. *A Catalogue of Books Illustrated by T. R.*, Grolier Club, N. Y., 1916. They are coarse in execution and color (as well as subject) and contribute little or nothing, aesthetically, to the artist's reputation.

41. Part of A Rural Practical Joke (quarto 18) was adapted for The Bassoon with a French Horn Accompaniment. The drawing represents two young masked revelers, a woman and a man, the latter emptying the contents of a chamber pot over the upturned faces of an elderly man and his wife. In the print, *The Caricature Magazine*, III, pl. 75, only the aged couple are shown. Bed Lice, or, The Hunt reveals a scrawny man in his nightshirt searching for lice which he drowns in a chamber pot. Behind him stands a stout woman holding a candle. The colored etching is inscribed Summer Amusement—Bugg Hunting, *ibid.*, V, pl. 82, and a thin woman is represented. The fact that the drawing is much weaker than the print makes its attribution to Rowlandson doubtful. Most of the Rowlandson designs for *The Caricature Magazine* are on the larger scale of the early period showing thick contour lines.

42. Quarto 51. Pen and water-color, 7½" w. × 5¼" h.

43. I have not yet completed my investigation of the palette of Rowlandson, but I hope eventually to determine

whether there is any consistency in each period, by the use of color and intensity diagrams of all the important drawings in the Collection.

44. Cf. *Oppé, op. cit.*, pl. 6, for reproduction.

45. *The Tour of Dr. Syntax, In Search of the Picturesque*, London, Ackermann's Repository of Arts, 1812. *The Second Tour of Dr. Syntax, In Search of Consolation*, p. 820, Ackermann. *The Third Tour of Dr. Syntax, In Search of a Wife*, 1821.

46. These are:—

1. Sketch of Setting Out.
2. Dr. Syntax Playing Tennis.
3. Dr. Syntax Pursued by a Bull (pencil).
4. Dr. Syntax Making Love to a Young Lady (pencil).
5. Dr. Syntax in a Punt with a Lady Who is Fishing (not published).
6. Dr. Syntax Setting Out on his Second Tour.
7. Dr. Syntax Watching an Actress Rehearse (not published).
8. Dr. Syntax Pulling a Handcar in which are seated a Lady and Three Dogs (not published).
9. Quarto 55, Dr. Syntax and the Bees.

The above drawings (except 9) are in a separate volume with some original proofs for the series.

In the manner of the Syntax series (but much weaker if by Rowlandson) are:—

Quarto 53, Bringing in a Corpse.

Rowlandson's landscapes become significant after 1800. Indeed, with the appearance in 1812 of the *Etchings of Landscapes from Scenes in Cornwall* he shows a marked gain over the earlier published *Excursion to Brighthelmstone*. Many of the sixteen etchings show a fine conception of space and depth. White spaces emphasize the transition from one plane to the next. Dark areas in the foreground by their contrast with the middle distance values assist in extending the three-dimensional illusion. The shape character of the trees is similar to the drawings.<sup>47</sup> Broken lines suggest the more distant planes. In several instances there is such a remarkable stylization of water that one is impelled to look for the oriental influence.<sup>48</sup>

The above method of rendering form also occurs in the Widener drawing of a Rocky Seacoast<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 8) which must have been drawn between 1800 and 1812, since it shares many common features with the Cornwall etchings. Our reproduction represents Rowlandson's use of values as well as line to indicate planes. The subtlety of his pen line appears in his manner of describing the rock forms, the ruined tower, and the projecting rocks to the right. Could one ask for anything closer to oriental sophistication than the fishing boat to the left and the brief notes of ships farther off, or the unobtrusiveness of the four figures in the foreground?<sup>50</sup> Whether Turner had ever observed Rowlandson's rendering of form through delineation, we cannot say, but here, some score of years before that master, appears an artistic phenomenon over which one may long marvel.

Another landmark in the development of Rowlandson's style between 1810 and 1825 is *The English Dance of Death*<sup>51</sup> which was published by Ackermann in 1815-16 and which represents, in the author's opinion, Rowlandson's greatest contribution to the art of illustration. The subject, the union of the gruesome and the grim with the grotesque, was one which must have appealed to his imagination. The Widener Collection includes five of the original drawings for the series<sup>52</sup> and others dealing with the general theme of Death and Man. On a larger scale but undoubtedly of this period (1810-1816) is the drawing *Death and the Cook* (Fig. 3)<sup>53</sup> While the contour lines are thick about the heads and hands, the effect of an unbroken heavy line of the early work has disappeared. Every curve and twist becomes important in the narrative. For such violence and physical distortion a firm, although not over insistent, contour is supplied by the artist. The rather detailed modeling of the faces is characteristic of his style at this time. Vermilion furnishes the blotchy, bloated appearance of both cook and don.<sup>54</sup> The fancy of the artist recalls Holbein.

There remains but to consider the late published landscapes where another significant

Quarto 61, Dr. Syntax in a Churchyard.

Quarto 49, The Funeral.

In a future study I expect to deal with the changes in the plates from the original drawings.

47. The influence of Dutch landscape etchers is unmistakable in certain of these prints. There is even a plate after Everdingen, containing his signature.

48. It is much too early for Japanese prints, but Rowlandson could easily have seen the landscapes painted on lacquered cabinets during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, some of which suggest the great Sung masters. The Waterfall, Collection of Dyson Perrins, is a remarkable instance of the affinity of Rowlandson's method of rendering landscapes with that of oriental masters. The relation of the tiny human figures to the immense vertical background recalls the prints of Hokusai. For a reproduction see Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 21.

49. Quarto 68. Pen and water-color, 9½" w. × 4½" h.

50. Mr. Randall Davies' Cliffs must have been carried out at about this time, i.e., 1812. Reproduced in Oppé, *op. cit.*, pl. 90. A similar rendering of rock form occurs in

the Widener A Corpse on the Beach, folio 23, which is dated 1801. I believe the date of execution should be advanced at least five years.

51. This first appeared 1814-1816 in twenty-four monthly numbers. *A Catalogue of Books Illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson*, Grolier Club, New York, 1916.

52. These are:—

1. The Last Chase, I, p. 23.
2. The Antiquary's Last Will and Testament, I, p. 15.
3. The Nursery, II, p. 33.
4. The Quack Doctor, I, p. 85.
5. Death and the Glutton, I, p. 68.

A sixth drawing in the octavo volume in which the above are preserved was not published: *Death Leaning Over a Fallen Soldier*. There are also seventeen hand-colored proofs by the artist in the collection.

53. Folio 3. Pen and water-color, 8½" w. × 11½" h.

54. The same violence of action and insistent modeling of the features occurs in *Deadly Lively*, folio 24.



change occurs from the style of those etchings of 1812. *Sketches from Nature*, consisting of eighteen colored plates, was published in 1822. Rowlandson drew and etched these plates, and Stadler did the aquatint. Although we find the same careful exposition of planes as formerly as in the View near Bridgeport, Dorsetshire, there is much more reliance upon the color to define the general masses. The line is freer and more sketchy in the details of trees. The richness of the finished work causes it to take on the appearance of a water color; the graver's art seems to be sacrificed once more as in the earlier period but who would have it otherwise?<sup>55</sup>

*Soldiers at Rest in a Square*<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 9) is representative of the later change in favor of the color although the line is amply coördinated as shown by the fact that the drawing holds together. This unity comes from the repetition in the background of the neutralized blue roofs and the spots of blue on signs and windows and the highly neutralized vermilion wash which gives a soft, rich, glowing effect of strong sunlight. Color massed in small areas in the foreground distinguishes each of the figures, the predominating tones being violet and orange, with some blue and yellow-green.

#### SUMMARY

It would appear then, from the foregoing analysis, that Rowlandson's style can be said to undergo three changes corresponding to an early, a middle and a late period. Drawings belonging to the early period (1774-1790) are in general inclined to portraiture rather than caricature and, where caricature is introduced, it is the Italian conception of physical distortion of features to express a passion rather than a broad social satire. The color corresponds closely to the local tones of objects and is usually limited to two or three tones spread over broad areas in a decorative manner. The line tends to become thick especially in the contours where a thick stub reënforces the ordinary pen line.

In the transitional period (1790-1800) a change in the scale and the subject matter effects a different method of approach. Portraiture drops into the background as social satire advances. Short, curved, broken lines of apparently even width describe violence of movement as well as grace of form. The color becomes broken up into smaller areas, more widely distributed. Additional colors are added to the artist's palette of even greater intensity than in the earlier phase but are used in a functional manner for emphasis, where intense, for subordination or repression, where neutralized.

The above elements carry over into the last period (1800-1827) in which there is greater freedom of handling in the drawing. Landscape undergoes a change, drawings executed before 1812 depending, for the description of form, mostly upon line, while those after 1812 show much more interest in tone, line being restrained except for architectural details or the notation of figures. But Rowlandson, throughout his work, cannot be said to have departed widely from the tradition of the tinted drawing.

For a more detailed chronology of his drawings, we are forced to rely upon the prints and illustrations as a sort of *terminus post quem*, exercising the necessary caution involved in prints whose dates are questionable.

As for the last source, that of biographical data, we must await further research, as the extant contemporary comment, or rather, gossip, is hardly of scientific value.

55. One of the finest landscapes of this period after 1812 is the Eel Pie Island, in the Collection of Captain Desmond Coke, reproduced in O. Sitwell's *Thomas Rowlandson*, in

*Studio*, 1929, pl. 8, *Famous Water Colour Painters Series*.  
56. Folio 29. Pen and water-color, 13" w. X 8½" h.

## OLD TURKISH TOWELS—II<sup>1</sup>

By BURTON YOST BERRY

**T**URKISH embroideries are embroideries made within the territory that was a part of the Ottoman Empire. They were worked by Turks or by other persons, members of one or another resident minority population, for Turks or in the Turkish mode.<sup>2</sup> All such embroideries fall into one of two large groups: first, those made for the decoration of houses, palaces, religious edifices, or military quarters; and, secondly, those made to be worn by people. The objects which comprise the first group are wall hangings, curtains, prayer rugs, screens, sheets, embroidered carpets and covers for pillows, divans, braziers and other household furnishings. The objects which make up the second group are articles for personal use such as abbas, trouser legs, handkerchiefs, napkins, sashes, kerchiefs, towels and ceremonial towels.<sup>3</sup> Each of these objects last named is identified in the Near East, regardless of the use to which it is put, as a trouser leg, a square, or a towel.<sup>4</sup> In this monograph I wish to limit my discussion to towels.

1. The first series of these notes was published in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, 4. It was based upon an examination of some 14,000 towels during four years' residence in Constantinople, and upon previous study in France. The present article adds to the first such information as I have acquired from study and observation during two additional years in Turkey, two years in Persia, and two in Greece.

2. By definition, the embroideries of the nomadic Turkish tribes of Persia and Central Asia are excluded, as they are from a territory outside the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, and also by definition, most embroideries of the North African races once within the Empire are excluded as they were neither made by Turks, for Turks, nor in the Turkish mode. Similarly other embroideries from Asia Minor but not in the Turkish mode must be excluded. Pieces featuring double-headed eagles or strutting peacocks, for example, are so emphatically Greek in character that we must call them Greek even if it should be proven that they were worked within the shadow of the palace of the Caliph of Islam.

The student of Turkish embroideries will find directly or indirectly helpful the following articles and books: Allom, Th., *Character and Costume in Turkey and Italy*, London, 1840; Berry, Burton Y., *Old Turkish Towels* in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, pp. 344-358; Berry, Burton Y., Turkish Embroidery, in *Embroidery* IV, 3; Brindisi, J., *Anciens Costumes Turcs*, Paris, 1855; *Catalog of the Benaki Museum*, Athens, 1936; Chatzemichale, A., *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ διακοσμητικὴ*, Athens, 1929; Diamand, Dr. M., *Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts*, New York, 1930; Dietrich, Dr. Bernard, *Kleinasiatische Stickereien*, Plauen, 1911; Hamdy, Osman Bey, *Les Costumes Populaires de la Turquie*, Constantinople, 1873; Hobson, R. L., *Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, London, 1930; Kühnel, E., *Islamische Stoffe*, Berlin, 1927; Lawrence, Sir William, *Turkish Embroideries*, The Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalog of a Collection of Old Embroideries of the Greek Islands and Turkey, London, 1914; Le Hay, *Modes Turques*, Paris, 1715; Lorch, M., *Costumes Turcs*, Hamburg, 1646; Marçais, G., *L'Exposition d'Art Musulman d'Alger*, Paris, 1906; Marçais, G., *Le Costume Musulman d'Alger*, Paris, 1930; Martin, F. R., *Stickereien aus dem*

*Orient*, Stockholm, 1897; Migeon, G., *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1927; Newberry, E. W., *Turkish Towels and Their Designs*, in *Embroidery*, IV, 3; Pesel, L. F., *Stitches from Eastern Embroidery*, London, 1921; Pesel, L. F., with Kendrick, A. F., and Newberry, E. W., *A Book of Old Embroidery*, in *The Studio*, London, 1921; Poidebard, R. P., *Anciennes Broderies Arméniennes*, *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, IX; Pope, A. U., *Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930; Saladin, H., *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris, 1907; Sarre, F., *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1896; Sarre, F., with Martin, F. R., *Die Ausstellung Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich, 1912; and Wace, A. J. B., in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1914; Wace, A. J. B., *Brief Guide to the Turkish Woven Fabrics*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1931; Wace, A. J. B., *Catalogue of Algerian Embroideries*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1935; Wace, A. J. B., *Mediterranean and Near Eastern Embroideries from the Collection of Mrs. F. H. Cook*, London, 1935.

3. The illustrations of the miniature painters of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries furnish the best contemporary information of the uses of embroidered articles. Occasionally, however, a traveler to the Near East long ago recorded an observation in sufficiently specific language to be of use today. Marco Polo tells us, "The ladies of the country (Persia) and their daughters also produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colors, with figures of beasts and birds, trees and flowers, and a variety of other patterns. They work hangings for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are marvels to see, as well as cushions, pillows, quilts, and all sorts of things." Yule, Sir Henry, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, 1903, I, p. 90. For other uses of embroideries see Berry in *THE ART BULLETIN*, *op. cit.*, pp. 354 ff. and references therein cited.

4. The use of the local nomenclature in classifying Turkish embroideries avoids some of the confusion that frequently arises from calling eastern objects by western names. To illustrate the situation, that I hope to avoid, I quote here from the diaries of two English travelers. Miss Pardoe, in *The City of the Sultan and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836*, London, 1838, I, p. 22, describes sitting

We know that embroidered towels were used in Turkey in the sixteenth century, but we possess little definite information about them.<sup>5</sup> From the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries many European travelers visited the Ottoman Empire and left written records of their travels.<sup>6</sup> Not infrequently these tourists wrote in their diaries of seeing towels "embroidered in silks and gold in the finest manner" thereby confirming the widespread existence of beautifully embroidered towels at the time of their visits to Turkey but beyond that leaving no descriptive record of the embroideries. The painters imported from Persia and their Turkish apprentices showed, in making their pictures, hardly more consideration for the students of the twentieth century who thirst for information about the embroideries of the sixteenth, nor do we gain much definite information from the subjects shown in the paintings of Bellini, Pinturicchio, and other western painters of fifteenth and sixteenth century Turkish life since they depicted scenes where embroideries would not appropriately be found. And the Turkish writers left few exact records concerning their embroideries which, different from the brocades and velvets, were made for the most part in the homes of the people, and consequently there are not, and never were, any factory records concerning them.<sup>7</sup> In short we really learn very little about the oldest Turkish embroidered towels by referring to the work of contemporary minaturists and the published accounts of Turks and visitors from abroad who, although more curious than the Turks about native crafts, had few opportunities to visit Turkish homes and fewer to visit palaces, religious edifices, and military camps.

Fortunately, however, we have full records of the growth of the Empire and we know relatively a great deal about the origin and parallel growth of Turkish art in general. This information is most valuable in throwing light upon the early development of the branch of art that interests us here. History records that Muhammet I by 1413 had reclaimed the land conquered by his predecessors, Murat and Bayazid, and offered asylum and encouragement to artists driven from their homes in the East by civil wars. We can assign to his reign the period from which to mark the beginning of the growth of an independent Turkish

down to a meal in Turkey: "We had each possessed ourselves of a cushion, and squatted down with our feet under us round the dinner tray, having on our laps linen napkins of about two yards in length richly fringed . . ." Whereas another visitor to Turkey at about the same time described a dinner that he attended thus: "As soon as the kaimakan had finished reading at half-past eight, two tables were laid (i.e., two very large plates of tin, laid on a reversed stool, round which we sat with embroidered towels spread on our knees) . . ." Turner, William, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, 1820, I, p. 56. Examples like the above where European travelers describe an embroidered towel as a napkin, a towel, a sash or a handkerchief according to the use that it was put when they saw it, can be multiplied to great length, but these two quotations should suffice to illustrate the folly of identifying eastern objects according to the use a western visitor sees made of such objects. See also Wace, in *The Burlington Magazine*, 1914, pp. 49 ff., and 99 ff., for a discussion as to how the types and uses of the Greek embroideries were determined by the character of the houses and the people who lived in them.

5. Belon, *Observation de Plusieurs singularitez et Choses memorables*, 1588, p. 403; Foster, Edward Seymour, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, Oxford, 1924, p. 134. Embroidered towels are not rare in the pictures painted by Turkish minaturists of the sixteenth century but the towels occupy such small space in the pictures that little is to be learned about patterns and colors from this source.

6. Notably: Belon, *op. cit.*; Chardin, Jean, *Journal du*

*Voyage du Chevalier Chardin*, 10 Vols., Paris, 1811; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1782-1829; Foster, *op. cit.*; Knolles, Richard, *Generale Historie of the Turkes* (edited by Sir Paul Rycaut), 1700; MacBean, *Sketches of Character and Costume in Constantinople, the Ionian Islands, etc.*, London, 1854; MacFarland, Charles, *Turkey and Its Destiny*, 2 Vols., London, 1850; Montagu, Lady Mary Worley, *Letters 1709-1762*, London; Moryson, Fynes, *An Itinerary (containing Ten Years of Travel*, 4 Vols., Glasgow, 1907; D'Ohsson, Chevelier, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1790; Pages, M. de, *Travels Round the World*, London 1791; Pardoe, *op. cit.*; Pinkerton, John, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1911; Ramsey, Mrs. W. M., *Everyday Life in Turkey*, London, 1897; Shaw, Th., *Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, London, 1737; Tavernier, J. B., *Les Six Voyages de J. B. Tavernier*, 2 Vols., Paris, 1679; Tournefort, Petton de, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Lyon, 1717; Turner, *op. cit.*; Yule, *op. cit.*; Zichy, J., *Voyages en Cascaie et en Asie Centrale. La description des collections*, Budapest, 1897.

7. Evleya in his description of Constantinople in the year 1048 (A.D. 1638) mentions that in the city there were sixty-five men embroiderers selling their output in twenty shops, and twenty-five embroiderers of handkerchiefs, who made shirts, handkerchiefs, sheets and towels, selling their work in twenty shops. He adds, "My mother was famous in this handicraft." Evleya Effendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, translated by J. von Hammer, London, 1850.



art, just as we can designate the date of the capture of Constantinople in 1453 as a convenient date from which to mark the coming of age of a pure Turkish art. This art flourished as the boundaries of the Empire were pushed further and further from the capital and as treasure from the newly acquired provinces poured into Constantinople where much of it was spent by the ruling class for all manner of luxuries. This tendency continued in constantly increasing volume during the remainder of the fifteenth century and throughout the whole of the sixteenth. In fact so great was the wealth and prestige of the Empire and so strongly implanted were the affluent habits of the Turks that the crushing defeat of their fleet at Lepanto in 1571 registered only a minor shock to the ruling class. At that time the Grand Vizir is reported to have said to Admiral Kilig Ali Pasha when he questioned the availability of material for rebuilding the fleet, "Lord Admiral, the wealth and power of the Empire are such that if it is necessary we would make anchors of silver, cables of silk, and sails of satin." Indeed, it was more than a century later, in 1683, when the Turks retreated short of their goal from the walls of Vienna, that the recession set in which continued to the last days of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>8</sup>

The "toweling" or material of which embroidered Turkish towels were made varies greatly. The oldest towels that I have seen, i.e., those made prior to 1650, are of linen loosely woven from warp and weft threads of the same medium size, with the result that there are in some pieces as few as thirty threads to the lineal inch and in others as many as forty. As the thread was hand-spun and the linen hand-woven no two pieces are exactly alike in texture. But all towels of this epoch that have been preserved to our time have certain characteristics in common: they are generally of linen, rarely of cotton, but always loosely woven and showing no ornamental design woven into the material which is sometimes created by adding silk threads or by increasing the size of certain warp and/or weft threads at regular intervals so as to form a repeated pattern. The loom width of this material is normally about eighteen inches although I have seen a towel of this period where the loom width was as much as twenty-two inches and another where it was only eight inches. This stuff was certainly used in the seventeenth century and perhaps before 1600 as well.<sup>9</sup> Towels of this period (Fig. 1) are normally from four to six feet long.

The toweling of the eighteenth century shows greater variety of materials and weaves. A plain linen stuff, similar to that used in making the towels as described above, was used, but the threads were generally finer, there being as many as sixty to the lineal inch (Fig. 2). This stuff was lacelike yet substantial, and proved a very satisfactory material, as it stood up well under repeated washings, and at the same time it had a sufficiently finely woven basic material to show off fine needlework. During the same period a plain cloth, hand-woven from very fine cotton thread, was used as a vehicle to carry some of the most elaborate embroideries of the century (Fig. 3). This cotton stuff never had a woven pattern, as such would have coarsened it and diminished considerably the effect of the rich embroidery upon delicate material. One person upon seeing for the first time a fragment of this eighteenth century toweling said, "That stuff is only a degree finer than steam vapor!" and indeed, this statement gives a very accurate description of the impression created by the gauzy appearance of the material of the eighteenth century cotton towels. However, to avoid repeating the error of earlier travelers to Turkey who saw and marveled at the

8. For a detailed account of the development of the Ottoman Empire under the House of Osman, see von Hammer, J., *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 10 Vols., Vienna, 1827-32; and for a very brief summary, see Wace, *Brief Guide*, etc., *op. cit.*

9. The question has been raised as to whether this fine tissue upon which embroiderers worked may have been the "buckram" reported by early travelers as having been made in Turkey. For a discussion of buckram see Yule, *op. cit.*, I, note on p. 47.

local embroidery and then expressed their admiration with romantic ambiguities, I wish to record that the cotton warp and weft threads of these towels not infrequently number as many as eighty to the inch. Towels of this material are wider than the linen towels. The normal loom width is about twenty-two inches and the maximum loom width is about twenty-seven inches. In this material I have seen also towels woven fourteen inches wide. As this toweling was plainly woven it could be cut at any length and the embroidery placed at the ends to the depth desired. There is, therefore, a great variety in these towel lengths. The longest approach twelve feet and all towels of this material twenty-five inches wide are usually proportionally long, while narrower towels are correspondingly shorter in length. Also dating from the eighteenth century are linen towels, usually sixteen to eighteen inches wide, with an ornamental band of silk woven the length of the towel down each selvedge (Fig. 4).

In the nineteenth century plain linen and plain cotton towels were generally abandoned for more ornate weaves. The linen and silk combination that we first find in the eighteenth century became popular in the first part of the new century. Even more popular, however, was a combination made by weaving thicker linen threads regularly into a plain linen weave. In the more simply woven towels of this type, usually eighteen inches wide, one or two thick weft threads replace the usual thin threads every few millimeters throughout the unembroidered part of the towel thus creating a design of parallel lines (Fig. 5). Sometimes the warp threads were treated similarly and in such cases the toweling has a checkered design. More often, however, the design was woven without disturbing the uniformity of the warp threads (Figs. 6 and 9).

One cannot leave this subject of towel materials without mentioning the embroidered bath towels of looped woven cotton material such as is today known throughout the world as "Turkish toweling." The usual loom width of this stuff is thirty-two inches and each towel is made by the weaver about five feet long. Each towel has a fringe of warp threads and is plainly woven for about ten inches from each end. These plain bands are for the embroidery. Then, working inward from either end, there is normally a narrow band of looped weave, a narrow plain band and then the long stretch through the center of looped weave (Fig. 8). Although this weave was not an invention of the nineteenth century I have never seen a Turkish towel of this material which, because of its embroidery pattern, colors of the embroidery medium, and needlework, I would place before 1800. Furthermore, in my reading I have found no reference to material of this type being used in the Turkish harems in the eighteenth or earlier centuries. On the other hand I have seen four dated bath towels of this material all of which were made between 1820 and 1855 and, consequently, I have tentatively assigned the Turkish embroidered towels that I have seen of looped weave to the nineteenth century.

The chief medium of embroidery on towels throughout the centuries is loosely-twisted silk thread. In the early towels the thread was used in its natural color or dyed red, blue, or black. The dyes used were made generally from plant life growing close at hand. Thus the red was derived from madder or arbutus root; the blue from any of the several plants of the indigofera family native to Turkey; and the black from the acorns of the *Valonia* oak or, since this dye gave a deep brown color rather than a true black, from a homemade mineral compound. This mineral dye, however, also proved unsatisfactory as it rotted the thread, but nevertheless it continued to be used as no other fit substitute was found until commercially manufactured dyes were introduced into Turkey from abroad. Occasionally today one discovers a towel where flowers have been edged with a lustrous black filament

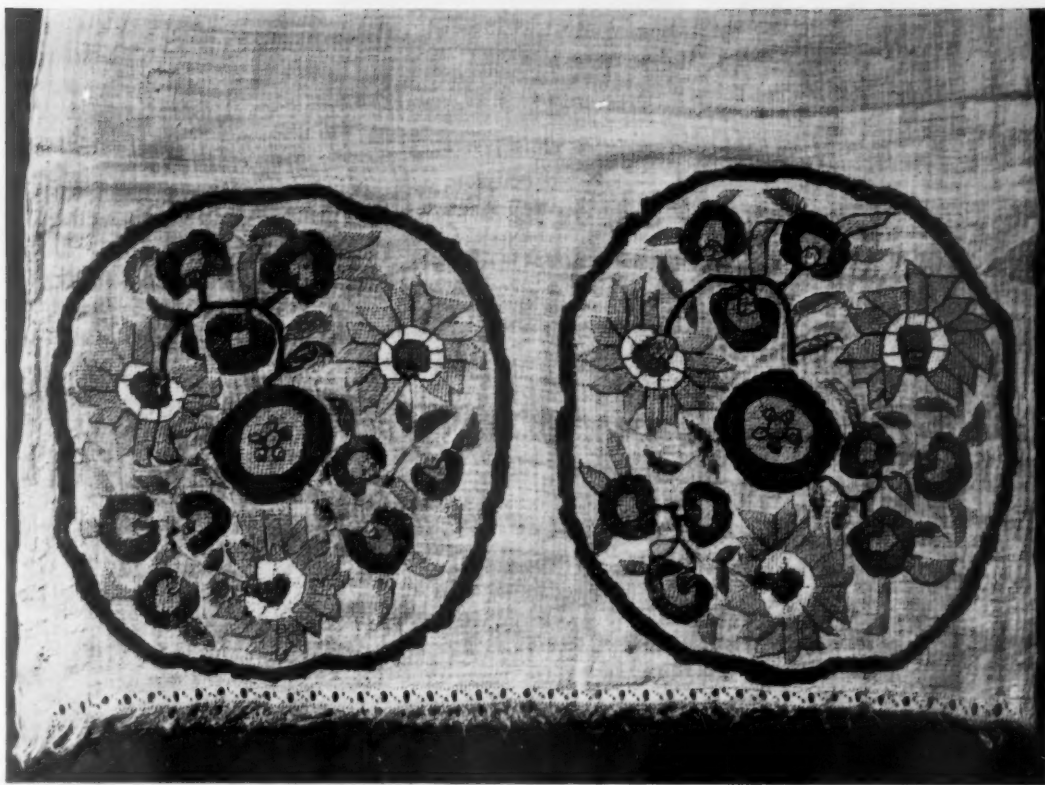


FIG. 1—*Towel End, Late Seventeenth Century*



FIG. 2—*Towel End, Early Eighteenth Century*

*Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroideries*





FIG. 3—Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroidered Towel Ends, Mid Eighteenth Century

and upon closer inspection this filament is found to be human hair. I have never seen hair other than black used on towels as an embroidery medium and I suspect that when used it was used as a substitute, only after failure to obtain a true lasting black color from vegetable or mineral dyes. Yellow was used on embroidered towels from the end of the seventeenth century and it was obtained from Daphne or the leaves of agnus castus. Green, made by mixing yellow and blue dyes, soon after appeared, to be followed quickly by other secondary colors. Purple, a popular color in the eighteenth century, was obtained from blackberry fruit, and brown, as mentioned, came from the acorns of the Valonia oak.<sup>10</sup> In short I have seen embroidery in silk thread on towels attributed to the mid seventeenth century in red, blue, white, cream, brown and black; on towels attributed to the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century in those colors plus yellow, green, polychrome, pink, gold, and silver; on those attributed to the mid eighteenth century the above named colors and in addition to them buff, salmon, pale green, olive-green, dark green, cinnamon, and purple, and at this period, for the first time, more than one shade of several colors. On towels attributed to the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries I have noticed these colors and brick-red, red-brown, blue-green, aubergine, and mauve as well. On towels made after 1870 most of the silk thread was purchased ready-made and dyed in all of the colors of the rainbow, or it was bought ready-spun and colored with chemical dyes purchased in the bazaars.

Although silk thread was used on the earliest embroidered towels and continued to be used to the present day it was not the only medium of embroidery. On several seventeenth century towels that I have seen a tightly twisted wool thread was used. This was probably due to the fact that the silk culture industry at that time was not sufficiently well established to provide a surplus of unmarketable silk to meet all the requirements of the women of the growers' households. Then, in the nineteenth century, cotton thread was used in the embroidery work of all but the finest towels. The generally accepted reason for this is found in the fact that the silk industry was then on the decline and there was a shortage of silk thread which necessitated the using of a substitute. In fact the art of fine embroidery might have died in Turkey simultaneously with the silk industry had it not been for two facts: the towels were made for the Turks who comprised the ruling class and had money to spend to satisfy their wants, and the amount of silk required to ornament a towel was sufficiently small that, in spite of scarcity and growing cost, embroidery continued to be practiced as a domestic art.

Metal was also used as embroidery medium. The weavers of Brusa velvets used metal thread made by twisting a fine filament of pure silver or silver washed with gold tightly around a silk or cotton core. The embroiderers used a similar thread but they failed for some reason to make extensive use of this means of embellishing their towels until the first quarter of the eighteenth century. From this time on, however, it was used widely as long as towels were made. In addition to metal thread a metal tinsel made of thin and very narrow strips of silver or silver washed in gold was used from about 1750 to enrich the embroidery on towel ends (Figs. 10, 11, and 12). Later, and until the end of the nineteenth century, copper strips were used in place of the earlier and more delicate ones of finer metal. The occasional use of hair as an embroidery medium has been mentioned.

Not many types of stitches are used in the embroidery of old Turkish towels but the work is always well executed.<sup>11</sup> The oldest towels are worked in a darning stitch or, oc-

10. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, and Berry, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, pp. 353 ff.

11. Probably the fine workmanship can be accounted for by the fact that girls in the Near East began to learn the



casionaly a darning and chain stitch. Later ones, dating from the close of the seventeenth century are worked in a combination of two or three stitches, the double darning, double running, and satin stitch which in Turkey is called the embroiderers' stitch (Fig. 1). In still later work, the earliest of which probably dates from the mid eighteenth century, the pulled stitch is used with the double darning, double running, and satin stitches. When metal tinsel appears in the embroidery usually this stitch is used (Fig. 11). These are the common stitches found on old Turkish towels although experts in stitchery occasionally point out also examples of the tent stitch, the stem stitch, the herringbone stitch, and the buttonhole stitch. In addition to the ornamental embroidery worked in these stitches most of the finest eighteenth century cotton towels have an edging worked in silver or gold thread on three sides of the embroidered ends of towels in a knotted buttonholing (Figs. 3 and 12). A few seventeenth, some eighteenth, and many nineteenth century towels have a narrow border of woven work at each end between the embroidered band and the fringe (Figs. 1, 4, 5, and 6).<sup>12</sup>

The embroidered decoration of a towel is placed across the width of the towel near each end and the same design is used on both ends. The design is in two parts, a major and a minor band. The minor band design is usually an adaptation in miniature of the major band motif. In the oldest towels the two bands were separated by an inch or two of undecorated material but by the beginning of the eighteenth century the intervening space was reduced to a point where the two bands became all but united (Figs. 3 and 7). In the nineteenth century the minor band in most pieces is in the form of a narrow strip of open woven work or a very narrow embroidered edging in a single color. The width of the two embroidered bands varies greatly. I have seen towels where the combined bands are only two inches deep and one where they were twenty-seven inches deep. The normal width is about eight inches.

The variation in the embroidery designs on old Turkish towels is a source of never ending fascination to the collector. Although ninety-five per cent of the designs on towels that I have seen are of the floral type, I have never seen exactly the same design on any two towels made prior to 1850.<sup>13</sup> They vary endlessly and their charm is in their variation. The oldest designs, though, were not floral but ogival. Judging from the oldest towels available today several adaptations of the various ogival motifs were used in the embroidery designs from the time of the coming of age of a Turkish art until the late seventeenth century. This period from 1450 to 1680 was the period of greatest virility of Turkish art. From the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and particularly noticeable from the end of the century, the older designs were replaced by naturalistic floral motifs.<sup>14</sup> These patterns found an immediate and sympathetic reception from the nation and they continued from the period of their introduction down to the opening of the twentieth century to retain their original popularity. With the passing of time, however, the growing influence in Turkey of European, and particularly Italian, art is noticeable in the embroidery and

art of embroidery at a very early age and worked steadily at it, preparing their dots, at least up to the dates of their marriages. With time no particular object and the cost of labor never a consideration it is not surprising that some of the results are artistic triumphs. See Berry, *ibid.*, p. 358, note 25; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-7; Pope, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169, and references therein cited, for a discussion of the antiquity of the craft as well as the skill of the workers; and Wace, *Mediterranean*, etc., *op. cit.*

12. See Newberry, *op. cit.*, p. 54 for an analysis of stitches

13. After 1850 ladies living in Constantinople, in order to provide refugee women with a means of earning money, encouraged the making of embroidered towels for sale in Europe. The women were given the patterns that sold abroad most easily and, of course, they copied them many times.

14. Plate 116, A Woman playing on a Guitar, of a manuscript in the British Museum called Drawings of Turkish dresses attributed to about 1620 shows a woman wearing a towel-kerchief. It is red in color, edged in gold, and ornamented with a floral spray in gold.





FIG. 4—*Towel End, Mid Eighteenth Century*



FIG. 5—*Towel End, Early Nineteenth Century*

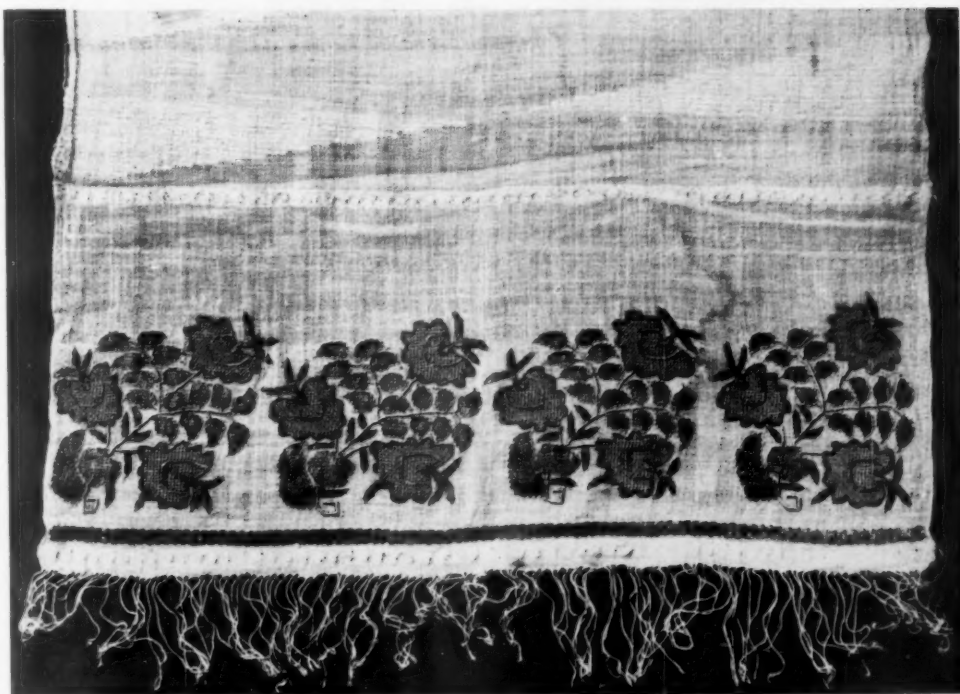


FIG. 6—*Towel End, Early Nineteenth Century*

*Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroideries*

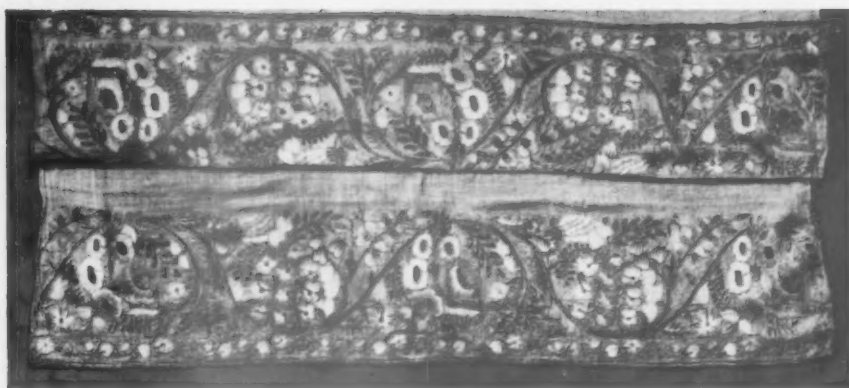


FIG. 7—*Towel Ends, Mid Eighteenth Century*

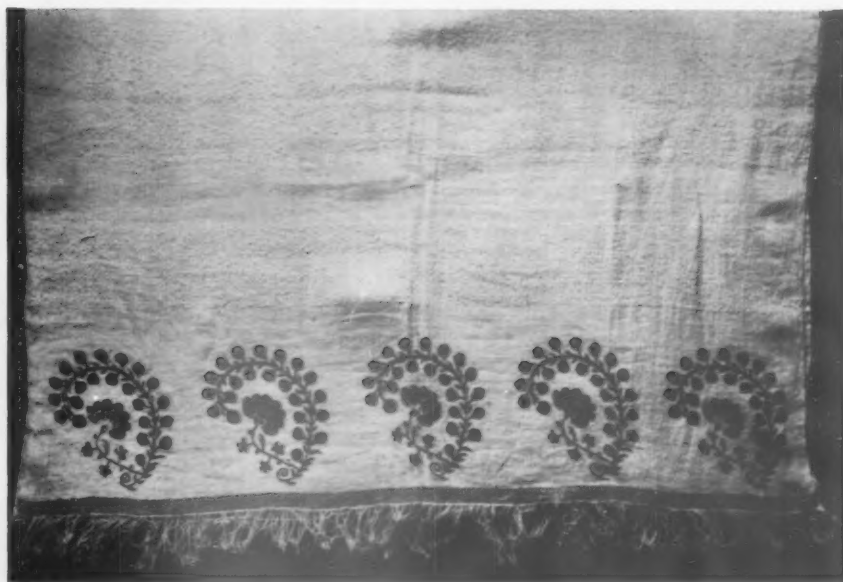


FIG. 8—*Towel End, Mid Nineteenth Century*



FIG. 9—*Towel End, Early Nineteenth Century*

*Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroideries*

the floral design passed through a cycle of change. Originally it was a naturalistic spray, drawn as pulled from a plant, consisting of a curved, serrated leaf with a flower sheltered under it and a stem with a hooked end,<sup>15</sup> but this gradually changed into an elaborate, and sometimes multiple, spraylike confusion of flowers, leaves and stems. Still later it reverted to a single, but crudely drawn, spray.<sup>16</sup> The flowers used in the floral sprays are all flowers that grow in Turkish gardens. The most popular is the rose and because of this the floral spray generally is called the "rose spray." But sharing to an extent the popularity of the rose is the tulip, carnation, and hyacinth.<sup>17</sup> Frequently embroiderers of eighteenth century towels, striving to give unity to their compositions, united a series of single rose sprays by the curves of a wavy line (Fig. 7), or by a series of arches (Fig. 10). A variation of the floral motif is seen occasionally where fruit is shown with flowers. On these towels I have recognized pomegranates, grapes, peaches, sweet peas, apples, and strawberries.

In the eighteenth century the floral motif was expanded into a garden scene. Traditionally such a scene includes a garden kiosk and a cypress or two and this motif is called frequently the "kiosk and cypress design." The design unit is usually repeated horizontally across each end of the towel (Figs. 4 and 12), but sometimes it is repeated both horizontally and vertically in order to enrich the piece (Fig. 11). Occasionally a very elaborate scene is drawn on a towel end showing a rambling house built on a hillside which slopes to a stream that is assumed to be the Bosphorus (Fig. 12). On the stream boats are sometimes shown, and on the hillsides there are trees of several types and flowers, bushes, and vines in great profusion. On several finely worked towels ornamented with this pattern I have recognized the cypress, the plane, the flowering almond, and the weeping willow trees. Sometimes on the tree tops and flying between trees are birds and once in a great while a human figure is shown in a doorway or in a boat. These figures, though, are always small and inconspicuously placed and this fact argues strongly in favor of Constantinople as the place of origin of this pattern as it was in that city that the Moslem clergy reminded their congregations most effectively of the Koranic interdiction against the reproduction of figures of human and animal life. On this point my observations bear out the conclusion that as one withdraws from the capital of Sunni Muhammedanism to the distant vilayets of the Empire one notices the figures of human and animal life are used increasingly as the distance from Constantinople increases. This fact I have remarked particularly in comparing embroideries from Constantinople with contemporary ones from the Ionian Islands, the western fringe in the north of the Sunni Moslem domination, and again those from Constantinople with embroideries of a like period made and seen at Tabriz, the eastern limit in the north of the Ottoman Sunni influence.<sup>18</sup>

Among the eighteenth century towels there are a sufficient number where the chief ornamentation is in the form of religious formulae and inscriptions in Arabic letters to warrant giving special notice of this type which clearly is not a branch of either of the other eighteenth century motifs mentioned above and still is not a rarity. The writings, which are almost always embroidered in black or brownish black thread, generally are placed in a zigzag band across the width of the towel at each end. Sometimes blossoms, buds, and

15. Wace, *Embroideries*, p. 5.

16. In dating towels embroidered in a rose spray design one must be constantly on the alert to distinguish between the primitive and the crude.

17. It is interesting to compare illustrations of European patterns of flowers with embroidered towels of the Near East showing the same flowers. See, Lotz, A., *Modelbücher*,

Leipzig, 1933, No. 84 for tulips, carnations, and roses, and No. 86 for leaves and stems within arabesques.

18. Human, animal, and fantastic motifs were used in much greater variety in carpets than in embroideries on towels. Compare the animals, etc., mentioned by Bode, Wilhelm, *Decorative Animal Figures in Old Oriental Carpets*, Vienna, 1892, (English edition edited by C. Purden Clarke) with the animals, etc., seen on towels.



leaves spring from the stems on both sides of this band, but frequently the band is the only embroidered ornamentation of each towel end. Other towels of this group show the embroidered section diapered by serrated leaves or ribbon bands and in the interlaced spaces the inscriptions are placed (Fig. 13).<sup>19</sup> These towels show in a different medium an older tradition, and the writings, which are frequently well enough formed to be deciphered, prove the persistence of Eastern superstitions. Probably because these towels do not appeal to the aesthetic sense of most collectors one sees few of them in collections of towels.

There is not as much obvious humor shown in the embroidered Turkish towels as on some Greek embroideries,<sup>20</sup> but when one sees a towel ornamented with daggers with a pious invocation to lead a proper life one feels that, put into the hands of the proper person, the message of the towel would not be without point. Other objects seen from time to time upon embroidered towels are wavy lines, possibly derived from Chinese cloud bands; three balls, the sign of Timur; rings joining ribbons and leaves, probably borrowed from Italy; and such familiar eastern objects as crescents, stars, ewers, vases, pots, swords and other warlike paraphernalia (Fig. 14).

The provenience of the designs on Turkish embroidered towels is in the main an unsolved puzzle. For the reasons set forth in a former paragraph there are few reliable contemporary records of the making of the embroideries and due to the political changes in the Near East in the last three-quarters of a century it is a truly tremendous task to assemble accurate information in the field today. Until four years ago I thought that I was making considerable progress in isolating certain patterns to certain districts of central Anatolia and certain others to the Smyrna region, but I was rudely shocked upon taking up residence in Persia to find exactly these patterns made and used at the present time by a Turkish tribe of western Persia. Since then I have abstained from suggesting a separation of patterns by districts and have noted simply the territorial limits to which various patterns reached. Thus, considering only towels of the strictly Turkish group, I have observed that those ornamented with rose sprays have come to light from all parts of the former Ottoman Empire in sufficient numbers to suggest that they were made in all parts of the Empire. On the other hand towels in the kiosk and cypress pattern have appeared almost entirely from Constantinople, Brusa, and the region of the Straits. The towels ornamented chiefly with Arabic writings have turned up in Stambul, Brusa, Konia and several other Moslem religious centers. In addition I have noticed that a considerable number of towels with embroidery workmanship and design strongly resembling that of Epirus (Greece) have come on the market from Kayseri. Likewise, I have remarked that most eighteenth century towels coming from Brusa, regardless of the pattern with which they are ornamented, carry a much larger amount of tinsel work than similar towels from other districts (Fig. 11). I have noticed, too, that towels ornamented with much work in a pulled stitch in white thread come from communities where there were large groups of Greeks and/or Armenians. However, upon only one point concerning provenience am I prepared to make more than a tentative statement, and that is this: my experience proves to me that fine work and wealth are never far apart. I feel confident that most of the exquisite eighteenth century towels known to us today were made in or near Constantinople, and I believe further than when one has the presence of mind to look beyond the surprise that he feels in discovering a

19. Compare plate 32, vol. I, Sarre, F., and Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Carpets* (translated by Kendrick, A. F.), Vienna, 1926.

20. For published illustrations see, Wace, *Embroideries*,

No. 7 (flowering shrubs which blossom at the top into double-headed eagles), No. 14 (a clown juggling roosters), and No. 20 (manikins straddling cypresses).

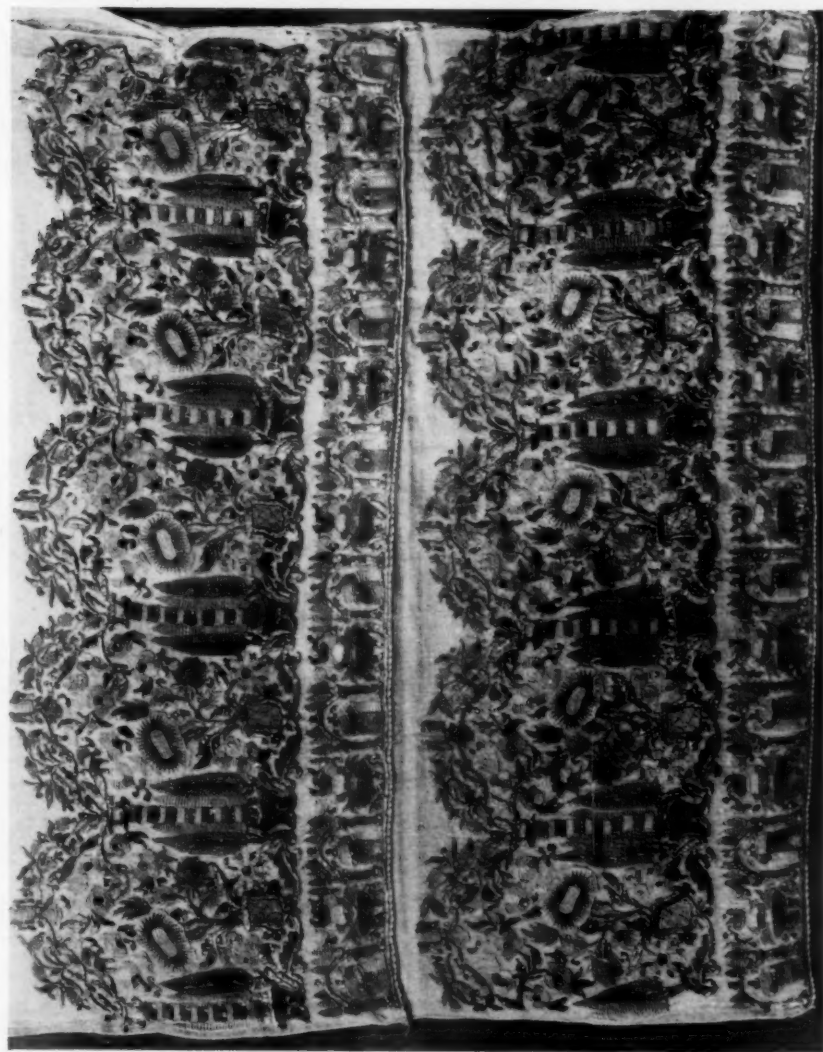


FIG. 10—Towel Ends, Mid Eighteenth Century

*Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroideries*



FIG. 11—Towel End, Mid Eighteenth Century



FIG. 12—*Towel End, Fragment, Early Eighteenth Century*

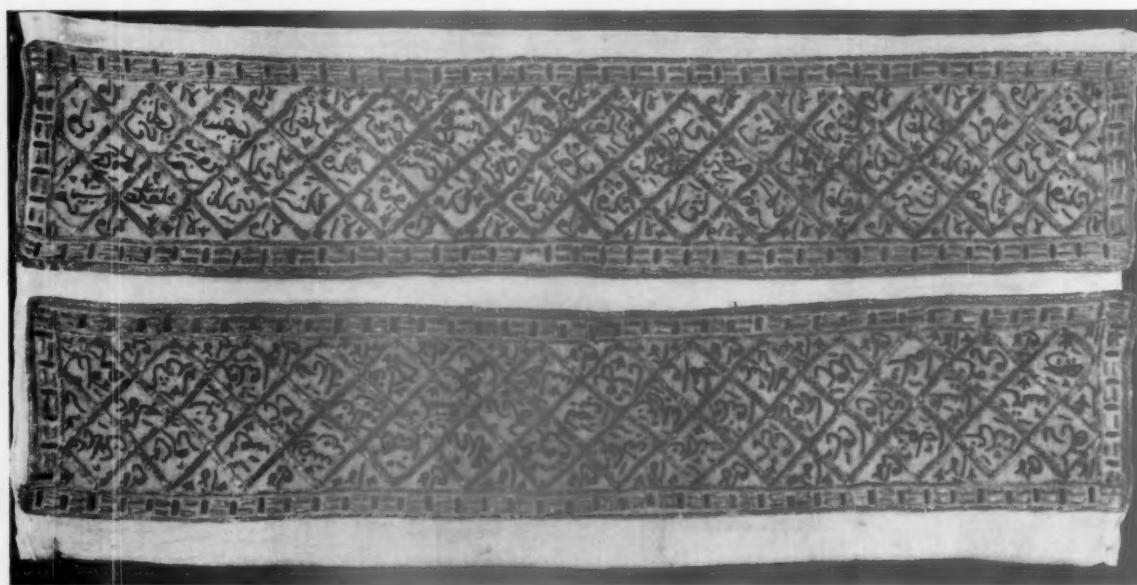


FIG. 13—*Towel Ends, Early Eighteenth Century*

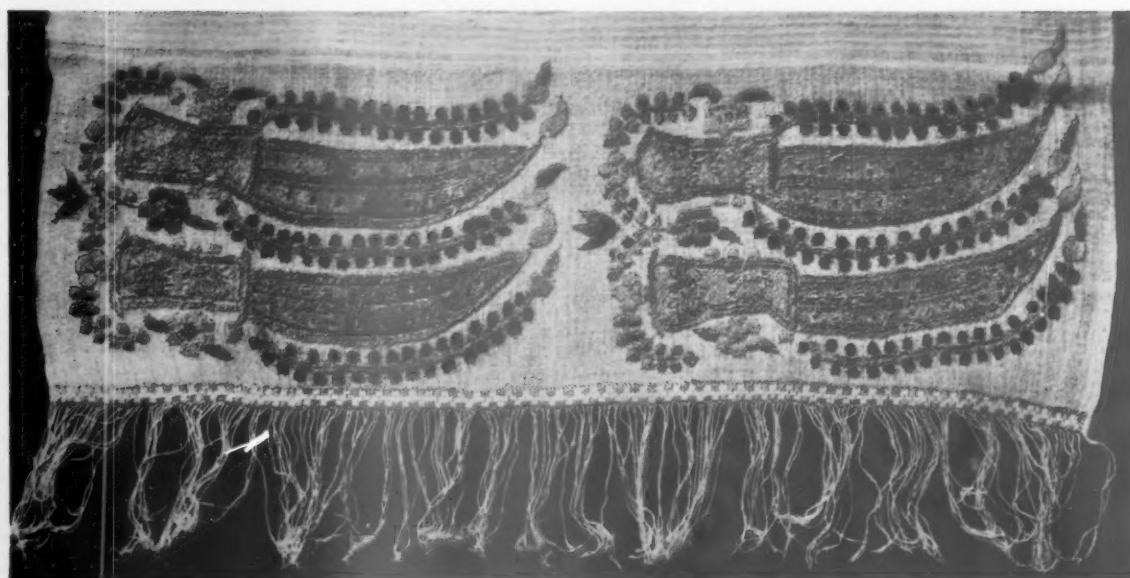


FIG. 14—*Towel End, Late Eighteenth Century*  
*Chicago, Art Institute: Turkish Embroideries*



finely worked towel in an impoverished provincial town that he will learn that the towel had been brought at some time from Stambul.

The Turkish eighteenth century embroidered towels in my opinion are the most beautiful embroideries made in the Near East<sup>21</sup> and, although they have always been collected and esteemed at home and abroad, the available supply of them is sufficiently large for representative collections to be assembled today. They are to be found in the homes of the rich and the poor throughout Turkey and to a lesser extent in the homes of the people of the hereditary states of the old Ottoman Empire. There are fine private collections in Europe and America and examples are to be seen in the great museums of both continents. They can be bought today in the bazaars of Constantinople and Cairo and in antique shops in London and Paris. And yet, in spite of the words of admiration they have inspired and in spite of the large number of towels available for study, few people have taken the care to keep accurate and full notes concerning them, to work up these notes into monographs and to publish them, thus at once making their observations available for the assistance and the correction of others who are interested in this branch of Turkish art. Until such is done, until collectors and museum officials are persuaded through the force of facts assembled from patient research that an exquisite towel suffers not at all, as a work of art, in being attributed to the eighteenth rather than the fifteenth century, until dealers are convinced that the names "Rhodes" or "Yannina" carry no more magic than do "Brusa" or "Kayseri" Turkish embroidered towels will not really come into their heritage.

21. "The ideal representatives of delicate colour are the Turkish embroideries of the towel and kerchief type. . . . These embroideries have an aesthetic charm which defies description or analysis. The soft, thin material upon which they are worked, the fine spun silk, the exquisite stitchery, the delicate colouring, the enrichment with gold, all sug-

gest a care-free life in a kiosk shadowed by cypresses in a garden by the Sweet Waters of Asia. They recall, indeed as nothing else possibly could, that old Turkish life which has now passed into history." This splendid tribute is from Wace, *Embroideries*, p. 4.

# AN EARLY CHRISTIAN IVORY PLAQUE IN CYPRUS AND NOTES ON THE ASIATIC AMPULLAE

By ROBERT P. GRIFFING, JR.

## I

**I**N THE monastery of Kikko on Cyprus<sup>1</sup> there is a reliquary casket 17 inches high and 24½ inches long in the top of which (Fig. 2) is set a small ivory plaque (Fig. 3) measuring 5 7/10 inches in height by 2¾ inches in width.

The carving is of a single figure holding a cross in his left hand and standing in front of a gabled architectural frame. A conch shell independent of the architecture is partially hidden behind his head. Below the conch and perhaps as a support for it is a dentil molding stretched between the capitals and divorced from any true cornice connection—a misunderstood adaptation of the motif as often found on Coptic monuments. The moldings of the gable also use a favorite Coptic motif consisting of a broken-down bead and reel surmounting another dentil row.<sup>2</sup> The plaque has been considerably cut down, probably in fitting it to its present position in the top of the reliquary casket which is further adorned with bone relics and inscriptions in Greek. A portion of the bottom, including the feet of the figure, has been lost in this process. There are remains of a raised ridge along the right side.

The figure is draped in a tunic and a pallium which is folded over the shoulders, forming a beltlike fold across the middle of the figure and falling in a long cascade from the left forearm. There has been an attempt made to show the body beneath the drapery. Although carved in a broad, flat plane in comparatively low relief, the rounded character of the anatomy is strongly suggested by the V-shaped fold of the drapery on the upper part of the chest and the bulbous relief of the lower abdomen, the lower part of which is clearly defined. There is also a tubular quality given the right leg which is bent backward in a walking position, throwing the figure into a slight lateral movement towards the right. The limitations of the carver's style, however, have prevented his giving a similarly naturalistic aspect to the left leg whose form is not at all suggested by the flat drapery cascade covering it.

1. Published by Soteriou, G., *Ta Byzantina Mnemeia tes Kyprou*, 1935.

2. This use and adaptation of the moldings has been shown to be Coptic in character by Capps, *The Style of the Consular Diptychs*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, X, pp. 61 ff. Capps isolates a certain group among the consular diptychs which he labels the "Areobindus-Magnus" group, and, by a comparison of their use of many ornamental motives with that on the Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic ivories, comes to the conclusion that this group of diptychs was made either in Alexandria or by an Alexandrian school working in Constantinople. The further theory is advanced that the noticeable lack of invention in the individual diptychs and the consequent similarity of many examples to each other results from their "mass production" in an urban center, a theory which is borne out to a certain extent by the observation that the names of the consuls in many instances have been added later as the diptychs were bought and

used by their various owners, these later inscriptions being incised while those inscriptions which are contemporaneous with the carving of the ivory itself are in raised letters.

Capps cites as particularly characteristic of the Coptic devitalization of borrowed Hellenistic and Oriental motives into a more formalized and stylized type of ornament: (1) the breakdown of the bead and reel molding into lozenges separated by straight lines; (2) the replacement of the egg and dart by a large bead or ball border; (3) the dentil row misunderstood and used underneath a frame enclosing a scene or as a molding to a low archway; (4) the lotus-rosette motive; and (5) the use of cross-hatching as an example of the optic point of view sought in Alexandrian-Coptic practice.

Figure-style parallels with the Coptic ivories are also brought into consideration by the author to strengthen a connection made on the basis of the ornamental motives.

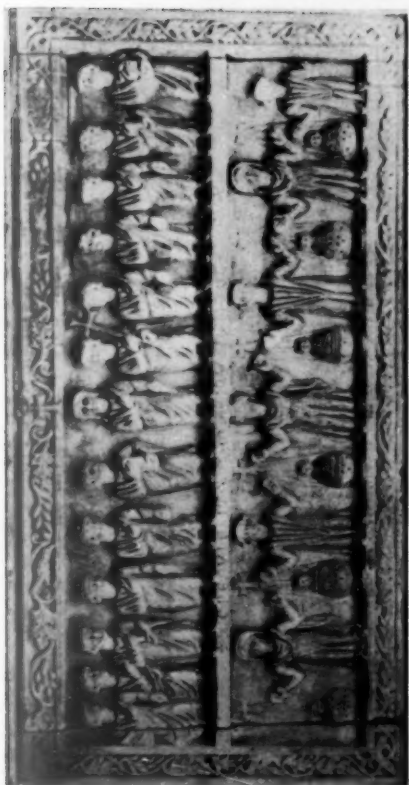


FIG. 1—*Venice, Tomb of Mariano Morosini: Detail*



FIG. 3—*Cyprus, Monastery of Kikko: Antependium, Ivory Plaque*



FIG. 4—*Paris, Louvre: Terra Cotta Ampulla*



FIG. 2—*Cyprus, Monastery of Kikko: Antependium*



FIG. 5—*Berlin, National Museum: Terra Cotta Ampulla*





FIG. 6—Ravenna, *Archbishop's Palace: Cathedra of Maximianus*



FIG. 7—Ravenna, *S. Apollinare in Classe: Sarcophagus, Detail*



FIG. 8—Ravenna, *Mausoleum of Galla Placidia: Mosaic*

The head is mutilated to the extent of the obliteration of specific details, but enough remain to identify the round, staring eyes and the indications of a stubby beard on a head uncompromisingly frontal. It is impossible from the photograph to judge whether or not there was hair on the head. But despite the mutilations and the uncertainty as to hair, there are still positive criteria for identification. The head type with the stubby beard, and the cross attribute indicate that the figure represents St. Peter as one of the *principes apostolorum*. The cross is, naturally enough, most often carried by Christ himself, but the Christ type on Coptic monuments is always beardless—as, for example, on the Murano bookcover (Fig. 14). Other saints, depending upon local traditions, are also given the cross as a mark of particular veneration. But in the great majority of representations of cross-bearing figures other than Christ, this attribute belongs to Peter.

Peter *crucifer* is met frequently in Early Christian art, sometimes merely as one of twelve apostles ranged to right and left of a central Christ as on a sarcophagus front reused on the tomb of Mariano Morosini at Venice (Fig. 1), occasionally in a scene from his life history as on a relief fragment from Sinope and now in Berlin<sup>3</sup> and in several Ascension scenes including a miniature (folio 13 v.) from the Rabula gospels (Fig. 9). But most frequently Peter with his cross is a characteristic of the renderings of the *traditio legis* which occurs with such regularity on the sarcophagi, particularly those of Ravenna<sup>4</sup> and of the Italo-Gallic school as isolated by Marion Lawrence.<sup>5</sup> The Rabula miniature (Fig. 9) also shows the *traditio legis* in a conflation of scenes.<sup>6</sup> Christ holding the open roll towards which Peter holds out his hand as if to receive it, and Paul standing on the opposite side of Christ—all these elements are usual. On three Ravennate sarcophagi<sup>7</sup> Peter is on Christ's right, but this position for him is limited to these examples.

Peter *crucifer* as the sole decoration of a surface is very rare. Out of the fifty-three known examples<sup>8</sup> of Early Christian date in which Peter appears with his cross he is alone only on two ampullae, one in Paris (Fig. 4) and the other in Berlin (Fig. 5), in a bronze statuette also in Berlin which was very probably once one of two figures decorating a lamp,<sup>9</sup> and on an ivory plaque from the Stroganoff collection in Rome (Fig. 12) which is now in the Pitcairn collection at Bryn Athyn near Philadelphia,<sup>10</sup> and according to a suggestion by Ainalov may have been once a part of a series.<sup>11</sup>

3. Wulff, O., *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, II, 1, *Altchristliche Bildwerke*, 1909, no. 29.

4. Cf. Dütschke, H., *Ravennatische Studien*, 1909.

5. Lawrence, M., *City-Gate Sarcophagi*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, X, pp. 1 ff., and *Columnar Sarcophagi of the Latin West*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIV, pp. 103 ff.

6. Baumstark, A., *Oriens Christianus III*, 1903, pp. 181-182.

7. E.g. two sarcophagi in the church of S. Francesco, Ravenna: Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, V, 1879, pls. 347/2 and 348/2; and a sarcophagus in the Musée Lapidare at Arles: Wilpert, J., *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, I, 1929, pl. 37/4.

8. Collected in the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University.

9. Cecchelli, C., *San Pietro*, 1937, pl. V. (This is fascicule I of the series *Iconografia dei Papi*.) The suggestion that this figure was originally a lamp decoration was first made by Professor Miller of Berlin, for which see the reports of the Second International Congress for Christian Archaeology, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIV, 1900, pp. 218 ff. Compare a lamp in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library (No. 668) for an example of such use.

10. An analysis of the ivory in the Pitcairn collection

from the points of view of the figure style, iconography, and architectural details points strongly to Ravenna as its place of origin. The figure, carved in movement towards the right with the pallium billowing out in a flying fold behind, and the right arm extended to grasp the cross set on Golgotha, is in every way similar to the figures of the apostles as they are represented approaching a central Christ from left and right on the broad faces of the Ravennate sarcophagi. A particularly close parallel is afforded by the apostle at the extreme left on a sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna (Fig. 7), which differs from our ivory only in the three-quarters rather than the frontal view of the head, the slightly more open aspect of the flying fold, and the fact that both arms are extended to support a wreath, the forearms being covered in the manner usual on Ravennate sarcophagi by a draping of the pallium. The wiglike hair with its definitely curved line along the top of the forehead as well as the round bulging eyes further justify a comparison of the ivory and the sarcophagus figure to the extent that it might reasonably be argued that the ivory was carved with sarcophagus figures of this type as a model.

The use of the long cross with splayed ends set in an architectural frame is a common motif on the late Ravennate sarcophagi where it is found on the broad faces as well

The certain cases of Peter *crucifer solus* can thus be reduced to the two ampullae, which by the nature of their size suggest a copying from a larger composition to fit into the available space; and since Peter bears the cross predominantly in the *traditio legis* scenes (thirty-eight out of the fifty-three mentioned above), the inference arises that our ivory was itself once a part of a larger composition whose subject was almost certainly a *traditio legis* or a close derivative of this scene. There is a plaque of similar dimensions in the Hermitage at Leningrad<sup>12</sup> which also shows a ridge remaining on the right side only which Delbrueck reconstructs into a five-part composite diptych as the right-hand side panel. It is thus probable that our plaque also was originally the right-hand panel of such a composite diptych. The ridge along the right side indicates that the plaque must have been part of a larger composition since there is no sign of any ridge along the left side, nor does it appear that one has been cut away. An exact parallel in construction is found on the right-hand plaque of a Peter and Paul diptych now used as bookcovers in the public library at Rouen (Fig. 13). If the two plaques of this diptych were removed from their present position and placed side by side, the molded ridge on the right side of the Paul plaque would become the frame for the left side of the Peter plaque or of a central plaque containing the figure of Christ, thereby making a ridge on that side of the Peter or Christ plaque unnecessary. Similar in intention is the use of frame ridges on many composite ivories as, e.g., the Barberini bookcover in the Louvre<sup>13</sup> and the chair of Maximianus (Fig. 6). The fact that our ivory rises to a pointed gable need not deter us from reconstructing it as a side panel even though such panels are always rectangular in shape. It will be noticed that the top of the ridge has been cut to follow the line of the gable, which leads to the strong inference that it at one time rose to the height of the peak, the spandrels being filled probably with a foliate decoration, thereby filling out the triangular spaces at either side of the gable and conforming to the usual rectangular shape.

Several peculiarities are at once observable in our ivory. The small conch behind the head bears no relation whatsoever, structurally speaking, to the gable in which it rests. There can be no doubt that it was derived ultimately from the Eastern conch-topped aedicula as seen on the sarcophagi, but the use here is obviously a misunderstood one. Parallels for this treatment are numerous, perhaps the earliest being the archangel plaque in the British Museum (Fig. 15) dating from the late fourth or the early fifth century. Here

as the short sides. The sarcophagus of Honorius (Garrucci, V, 1879, pl. 356/1) uses this motif on the front where three aediculae are seen, the central one gabled and containing the cross set upon the mount from which issue the Four Rivers of Paradise, as on the ivory, and the two lateral aediculae, arched and without the mountain but with a conch in the arch. The central aediculae is further elaborated by the addition of a lamb of God standing on the mount and two doves perched on the lateral arms of the cross.

Conches on the sarcophagi of Ravennate workmanship invariably radiate upwards in the architectonic fashion of their Eastern prototypes, while that on the ivory radiates downwards and is made more purely decorative by the addition of "scallopings" along the outer, or front edge. This scalloped conch, although foreign to the sarcophagi, also finds many parallels in Ravennate art, notably the four lunette mosaics of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (Fig. 8), the conches in mosaic between the windows of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Garrucci, IV, pl. 244/1), the conch over the mosaic group of Theodora and her suite in S. Vitale (*ibid.*, pl. 264/2), the conches in the bottom circle of the dome mosaics in the Baptistery of the Orthodox (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, 1916, pl. 82), the mosaic conches in the apse wall be-

tween the windows in S. Apollinare in Classe (Garrucci, IV, pl. 266/5), and several instances among the apse mosaics of the cathedral at Parenzo. The channeled pilasters topped by Corinthian capitals, and the foliate spandrel decoration of the ivory are also to be seen on many of the Ravennate sarcophagi. All these elements occur for example on a sarcophagus in S. Francesco (Garrucci, V, pl. 347/2).

Thus the ivory from the Stroganoff collection displays a number of elements characteristic of Ravenna, of which the peculiar conch is the most decisive criterion for provenance. Since the Ravennate sarcophagi can be dated mainly in the fifth century, a fifth century date is indicated for the ivory as well in view of the identity of style with the sarcophagus figure cited above (Fig. 7).

A small official diptych in the Louvre (Delbrueck, R., *Die Consulardiptychen*, 1929, atlas, pl. 57) may also be ascribed to Ravenna on the basis of its use of this characteristically Ravennate scalloped conch.

11. See Muñoz, *Pièces de choix de la collection du comte Grégoire Stroganoff*, II, 1911, p. 159.

12. Delbrueck, *op. cit.*, No. 53, pp. 208-209. Its size is 3 by 5½ inches.

13. *Ibid.*, atlas, pl. 48.



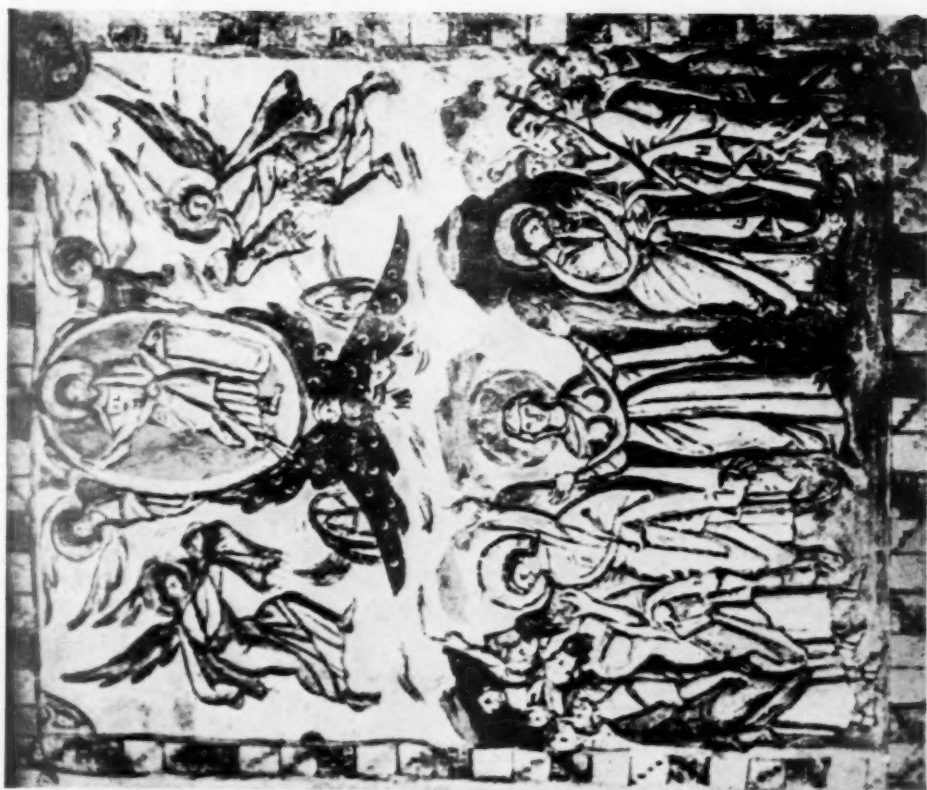


FIG. 9—Florence, Laurentian Library: Gospel Book of  
*Rabula, Ascension*

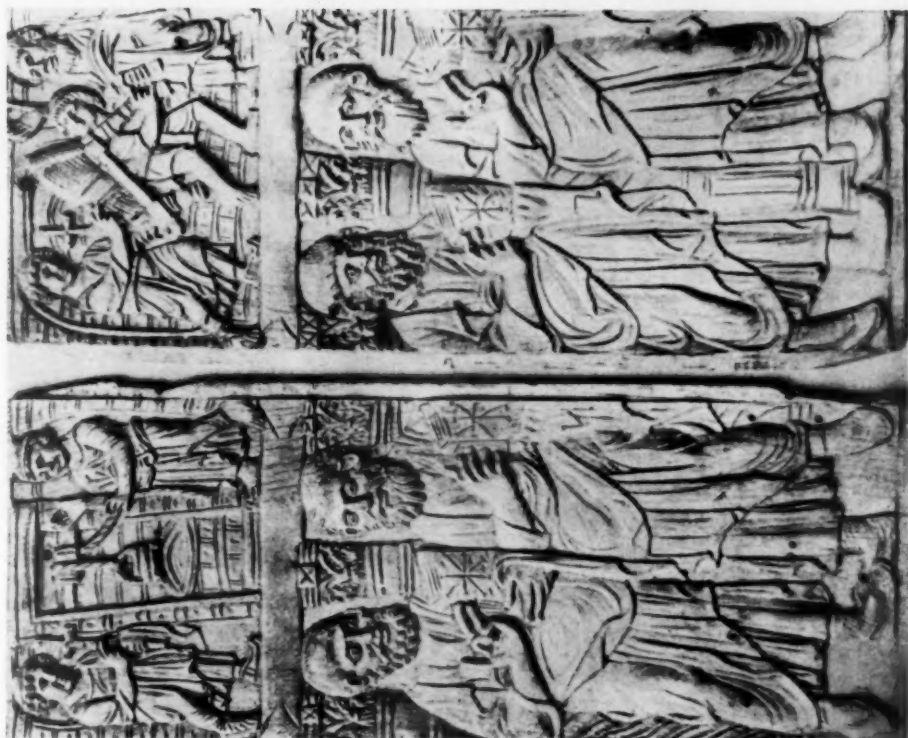


FIG. 10—Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: Ivory Diptych



FIG. 11—Cairo, Museum:  
*Stele*



FIG. 12—Bryn Athyn  
Pitcairn Collection:  
*Ivory Plaque*



FIG. 13—Rouen, Museum: Ivory Diptych



FIG. 14—Ravenna, Museum: Ivory Bookcover from Murano



FIG. 15—London, British Museum: Ivory Plaque

we also notice the use made of the detached dentil row and the architectural framework of our ivory, the difference between them being mainly stylistic; noteworthy also is the use on the London ivory of the round-headed aedicula. The same conch type is found on many ivories of the fifth and sixth centuries ascribed by majority opinion to a Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic provenance and including among their number the front panels of the chair of Maximianus (Fig. 6). Coptic familiarity with the non-structural conch is further proved by its appearance on many of the stone stelae in the Museum at Cairo<sup>14</sup> among which no. 8687 (Fig. 11) of that collection offers a striking parallel to our arrangement.

The front plaques of the Maximianus chair (Fig. 6) were executed at about the turn of the fifth century. On them the carving is fine, the poses animated, and the drapery varied. Behind the heads of the figures is seen much the same type of conch as on our ivory. Space will not permit my entering the arguments as to the provenance of this work, and again it becomes necessary to refer to the majority opinion which ascribes this chair to an Alexandrian atelier.<sup>15</sup>

Slightly later in the sixth century and showing a marked falling off of style in comparison to the Maximianus panels is a diptych now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 10). Particularly to be noticed is the use of the column channeled at the base and rising spirally for the greater part of its height, as on our ivory. This type of column is both curious and rare. As would naturally be expected it has no monumental ancestry and is confined in its use to works primarily decorative in character. On ivories so far known it was used only by the carvers of the cathedra group.

Still later than the Fitzwilliam plaques and of more definite Coptic style<sup>16</sup> is the famous Murano bookcover now in the Museum at Ravenna (Fig. 14). Here the architectural similarities with the ivory under consideration are only superficial, but stylistic identity is apparent between the Peter on the Cyprus ivory and the cross-bearing figures of Christ as well as the lateral figures of the central plaque on the bookcover. Except for the gesture of blessing and a slight turn of the head in the Christ panels, the postures of the figures are the same. But the style of the bookcover on close observation shows a marked deterioration of technique in comparison with those ivories which can be included stylistically in the Maximianus group, of which the Fitzwilliam plaque is a member, and even in comparison to our ivory. Not only are the figures in lower relief, but there is less emphasis on the architectural background which, as in the scene of Christ healing the paralytic, has been reduced to an illogical minimum. The column in this scene rises above the indications of the capital, thereby obscuring and, in fact, leaving no support for the springing of the arch. The arch itself is now a misunderstood frame for the top of the scene and is inconsistently lost behind the head of Christ. The drapery also has been altered, reducing in its simplification the girdle fold of the pallium from the rather wide bunching from which often hangs a triangular-shaped fold in the earlier group of ivories to a noncommittal roll which is recognized as a folding of the pallium only because of the familiarity of the motif. The tubular quality of the leg noticed on our ivory has disappeared, the artist being less able to express anatomical form than was our carver, a stylistic retrogression which might almost have been prophesied by the deceptive treatment of the drapery cascade on the Cyprus Peter.

The new ivory then assumes more and more a transitional character between the cathedra and the Murano groups, both of which by reference to it are rendered more

14. Crum, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, Coptic Monuments*, 1902, pls. 33/8590; 35/8603; 38/8618; 40/8635; 45/8662 and 45/8665; 50/8686; is 54/8702, etc.

15. These arguments have been summed up by E. Baldwin Smith in his article on the cathedra in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1917, pp. 22-37.

16. Capps, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.



definitely separate but related parts of one more or less consistent development. In qualities of style it must stand both as a retrogression from the cathedra and the Fitzwilliam plaques and a finer and certainly earlier example of what the carver of the Murano bookcover attempted unsuccessfully to achieve. It is further connected to the earlier group by the column type discussed above which does not appear on the Murano bookcover and ivories of its stylistic group.

The iconographic connection between the two groups of ivories represented by the cathedra of Maximianus and the bookcover has long been recognized. The presence of Salome in the Nativity, for example, is common to the cathedra, a fragment of the Murano cover at Manchester,<sup>17</sup> and pyxides of the Murano style in Vienna,<sup>18</sup> Berlin,<sup>19</sup> and Werden.<sup>20</sup> Further all the ivories of these two groups share the short-haired, beardless Christ type. Examples of this iconographic connection could be multiplied almost indefinitely.<sup>21</sup> Of importance here, however, is the fact that to this quite definitely established iconographic link between the two groups we can now add for the first time a stylistic link in the Cyprus ivory, thus further substantiating by means of independent evidence a connection recognized from other considerations.

The Murano bookcover must be dated no earlier than the middle of the sixth century and the chair of Maximianus at about 500. Therefore the Cyprus plaque must date somewhere between them, or, roughly, in the first half of the sixth century. Such a dating is, in the light of even the most recent researches, necessarily without the substantial bases we could desire. For the moment, however, it is sufficient and important to be able to place the new plaque in a strategic position, heretofore unfilled, between the two groups of ivories to which it has been related.

It has been suggested that our ivory may well have been a part of a *traditio legis*.<sup>1</sup> In that case the movement of the figure would seem to dictate a placing of Peter to the observer's left of the conjectural central Christ figure. This position for Peter in the *traditio legis* scenes is unique to the Ravennate sarcophagi and hence would be most unusual in an Egyptian workshop. Furthermore, as has been noticed above, the absence of any ridge along the left side demands a reconstruction with Peter on the right. How then are we to account for this ill-devised relationship between the compositional movement of the figure and the position of the ivory in the reconstructed diptych? For a solution we must again have recourse to the Murano bookcover (Fig. 14) whose central plaque shows a seated Christ between two figures which may represent Peter and Paul, both of which move in the same direction despite the fact that they flank a central figure. The importance of this central plaque to the discussion at hand lies in its indication that by the middle of the sixth century such esthetic considerations as a balancing of movements in opposite directions were no longer in force, even for the carver of the bookcover, who must have been, judging by the importance of the work entrusted to him, a leading craftsman in his field.

Although the Cyprus ivory because of its transitional character is to be dated earlier than the Murano bookcover, the amount of time between them must remain indefinite, and on the basis of stylistic formulae, the new ivory is closer to the bookcover than to the cathedra. Therefore it seems stylistically as well as mechanically justifiable to reconstruct our original *traditio legis* with the Peter on Christ's left, since if the carver of the Murano cover made no distinction in the movement of figures, it is probable that our carver, who

17. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 1911, fig. 114.

18. Kehr, *Die heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, II, 1909, figs. 38-41.

19. Garrucci, VI, pl. 437/4.

20. *Ibid.*, pl. 438/1.

21. Expanded in Smith, E. B., *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence*, 1918.



FIG. 16—Princeton, Museum;  
from Antioch



FIG. 17—Princeton, Museum;  
from Antioch



FIG. 18—Paris, Louvre



FIG. 19—Paris, Louvre



FIG. 20—Paris, Louvre



FIG. 21—Berlin, National  
Museum



FIG. 22—Berlin, National  
Museum; from  
Alexandria



FIG. 23—Berlin, National  
Museum; from  
Smyrna



FIG. 24—Cairo, Museum

*Terra Cotta Ampullae*

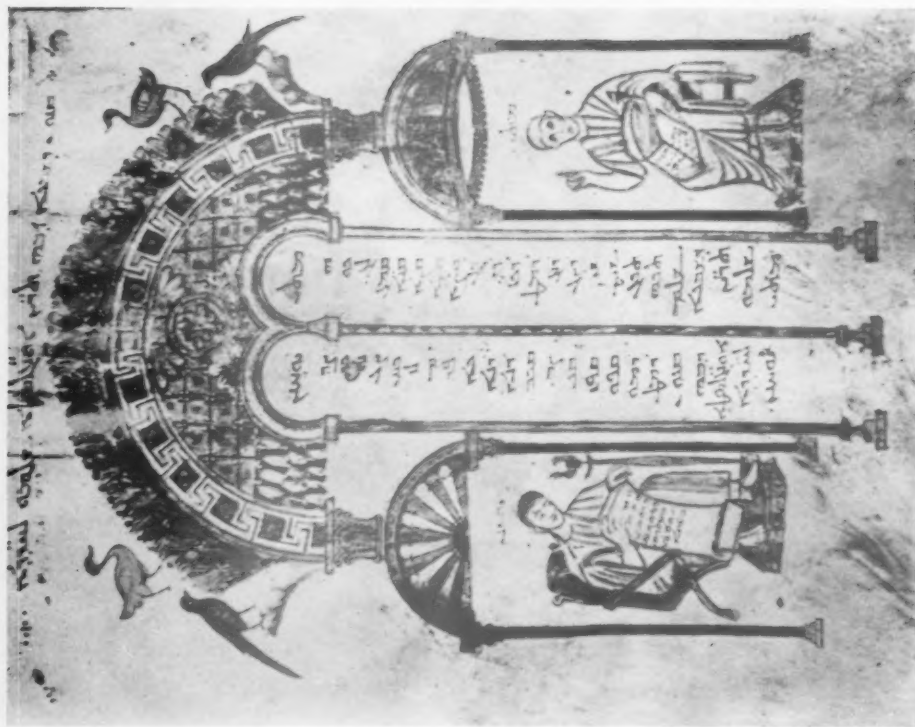


FIG. 25—Florence, Laurentian Library: Gospel Book of Rabula, Sts. John and Matthew



FIG. 26—Florence, Laurentian Library: Gospel Book of Rabula, Madonna



chronologically was not greatly anterior to him, would be capable of the same neglect.

The *traditio legis* is a scene predominantly associated with the "Asiatic" wing of Early Christian art, but such a consideration need not affect a Coptic attribution for our ivory, since eastern iconographical forms spread with such influence and insistence during the sixth century as to leave an indelible impress on the art of the northern and southern Mediterranean shores. Perhaps the best proof for a sixth century eastern influence in Egypt is seen in the use of the Syrian triangular-shaped head for Christ in the frescoes from Abou-Girgeh<sup>22</sup> near Alexandria, elsewhere found only in the miniatures of Syriac gospel books.

## II

The two ampullae mentioned above (Figs. 4 and 5) as examples of Peter *crucifer* are of a shape typical enough to be recognized as characteristic of a group of ampullae of supposed Anatolian manufacture, usually in contradistinction to the equally generic shapes of the Menas and Monza ampulla types which have generally been accepted as of Egyptian and Palestinian workmanship respectively. What distinguishes the so-called Anatolian group from the other two is its use of the oval rather than the round form; the absence of handles (for which are substituted string holes near the top of the paunch); the simple, short, stubby neck (sometimes threaded); and the small dimensions (which never exceed seven centimeters in height and five centimeters in width).<sup>23</sup> Leclercq has further pointed out that they are, with the exception of a small sub-group one of whose number bears the words O AΓΙOC ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΑΠΟΧΤΟΛΑOC, without identifying inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> As is to be expected from the fact that the decoration is cast in a mold, scenes or figures are often duplicated, although this duplication may not be entirely faithful for such technical reasons as the slipping of the mold, which may cause details to be scratched in later in order to complete the parts of the design accidentally destroyed or only partly cast. This may explain the minor differences observed in an ampulla found in Antioch and now in the Museum of Historic Art in Princeton University (Figs. 16 and 17) and one in the Louvre (Figs. 19 and 20) which, in their essentials of design and in most details, are so identical that the assumption that the two are products of the same mold is self-evident, once the minor discrepancies between them can be explained by accidents in handling.

It is impossible to give these ampullae a more definite provenance. Leclercq<sup>25</sup> states too dogmatically that their place of manufacture was in Smyrna while Michon<sup>26</sup> is more guarded when he suggests Smyrna as most likely. Holtzinger indicates that certain examples now in the museum at Athens are of Naxian provenance<sup>27</sup> with which Michon disagrees. Their place of discovery or purchase is no more illuminating or definite. The preponderant number were found or bought, it is true, in Smyrna, with others coming from Ephesus, Priene, Thyatira, Rome, and Alexandria. But positive evidence for Smyrna as a definite center of manufacture is lacking, and the only one surely found *in situ* is the one from Antioch.

The ampulla from Alexandria (Fig. 22) is typical of a small group of only four examples<sup>28</sup> which while agreeing in form with the others, are iconographically separated from them by the lack of figure ornamentation. In place of figures the Alexandrian ampulla uses the

22. See Morey, C. R., *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *THE ART BULLETIN*, VII, pl. 20.

23. See Michon, *Nouvelles Ampoules à Eulogies*, in *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1898, pp. 315 ff.

24. In Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de*

*liturgie*, I, 2, 1907, col. 1734.

25. *Ibid.*, col. 1734.

26. Michon, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-322.

27. Holtzinger, *Kunsthistorische Studien*, p. 63.

28. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. See Wulff, *op. cit.*, pl. 67, nos. 1354-56 and 1408.

Coptic dotted circle as an allover pattern, four of the circles in the center of the paunch being so deeply impressed as to give the appearance of an equal-armed cross in relief. It is this allover, irregular use of the motif rather than the motif itself which is especially Coptic in character and allows us to suppose with good authority that objects upon which it is found betray at least a strong Coptic influence and are probably actually of Egyptian origin.<sup>29</sup> Another ampulla of this group found in Smyrna (Fig. 23) uses the dotted circle only as a border motif to a central equal-armed cross within a circle. The remaining two<sup>30</sup> use no dotted circles at all, but have only the circled cross motif noticed in the preceding ampulla, a simplification which may be due to their unusually small size, the larger of the two measuring only three by three and a half centimeters.

An ampulla in the Museum at Cairo (Fig. 24) is of a somewhat different character, the one remaining string hole being very small and high on the neck. This ampulla has been badly mutilated, and it is possible that the projection near the top in the photograph may be the remnant of a curved handle in relief. What is important to notice, however, is the use not only of the dotted circle but also of the Ankh cross, which is confined in its use to monuments of Egyptian origin.

It is then almost certain in the case of the Cairo ampulla and possible in that of the small group of four in Berlin to postulate an Egyptian origin despite their similarity in shape to the Anatolian group and despite the fact that three of them come from Asia Minor. Such a place of discovery need not militate against an Egyptian provenance if one recalls the extreme popularity of the pilgrimages to holy shrines during the sixth century and the consequent wide dissemination of pilgrimage souvenirs.

Although it is impossible to assign the figured ampullae to a definite urban center, there are positive criteria for the assumption that Asia Minor, or perhaps Syria, is the region in which they were made. First, but not in itself necessarily conclusive, is the discovery of the new ampulla (Figs. 16 and 17) *in situ* at Antioch. The ampulla in the Louvre (Figs. 19 and 20) corresponding to it was bought at Ephesus by Piot. Since the figure on both of these is shown seated in an X-shaped chair and writing in a codex in similar fashion to the representation of St. John the Evangelist on folio 9 v. of the Rabula gospels (Fig. 25) (where the figure is, however, writing in a roll), it is justifiable to recognize in him an Evangelist portrait. The tomb of St. John the Evangelist was at Ephesus. Hence Michon<sup>31</sup> suggests a possible connection between the tomb, which was also a pilgrimage shrine, and the ampulla in the Louvre. Such a consideration need not predicate an Ephesian workshop, but it serves to strengthen the connection of the group with the Asiatic east. Further, Friend in his articles on the Evangelist portraits<sup>32</sup> has shown that the seated Evangelist portraits are of two types which originated in Ephesus and Antioch respectively. The Ephesian Evangelist sits in deep contemplation, his prototype being the pagan philosopher statue. The Antiochene type on the other hand is more animated and alert and is represented as reading aloud and teaching with gestures.<sup>33</sup> It is this more animated Antiochene Evangelist that is found in the Rabula John and the Princeton and Louvre ampullae, whose figures compare so closely to his. Therefore, in the case of these two ampullae at least, the general provenance seems beyond serious doubt. While the one side of these two ampullae

29. For parallel use of the dotted circle in an allover or irregular pattern in Coptic art see Strzykowski, *Koptische Kunst in Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, 1904, p. 110, no. 8767b (pendant); p. 111, no. 8770 (pyramidal base); p. 143, no. 8819 (casket); pl. 8, no. 8826 (comb); and many others, in particular pl. 20 where it is seen on a variety of small objects.

30. Wulff, *op. cit.*, pl. 67, nos. 1355 and 1356.

31. Michon, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

32. Friend, A. M., Jr., *The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts*, in *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 115 ff. and 1929, pp. 3 ff. In this connection see particularly part 2, 1929.

33. *Ibid.*, 2, 1929, p. 6.

has a seated Evangelist, the other uses a standing figure which, considering the identity of the figure on the reverse, might very well be an Evangelist also. This conflation of the seated, or Asiatic, type with the standing portrait which Friend<sup>34</sup> gives to Alexandria occurs in the Rabula gospels in which Mark and Luke are shown standing (folio 10) and John and Matthew seated (Fig. 25). In the gospel book there is no attempt at harmonization; both types are used in a simple mixture, and as Friend further points out: "This conflation of picture types has a startling resemblance to the conflation of text types which characterizes the Antiochene recension of Lucian (the Byzantine text, *Textus Receptus*) in the early years of the fourth century."<sup>35</sup> The evidence of the Rabula gospels and the suggestion of the text conflation indicate at least an Asiatic and probably a Syrian origin for the ampullae.

The only inscription on any of the ampullae is one in Greek identifying the figure accompanying it as Saint Andrew, the apostle ranked by the eastern church with Peter and Paul. This inscription may be invalid evidence here since it is incised and may therefore be a considerably later addition. There are three examples of this type in the Louvre (Fig. 18)<sup>36</sup> all (probably) from the same mold. One entered the collection in 1896 and bears no inscription. The other two were acquired later, each with an inscription, the letters on one of which remain only in a few illegible traces. Thus, what little additional evidence this small group of ampullae gives us does not argue against an Asiatic provenance.

In the first part of this article we have seen evidence of Asiatic familiarity with the representation of Peter *crucifer* as in the Rabula miniature (Fig. 9). Further reference may also be made to a round metal ampulla in Monza<sup>37</sup> which uses the same conflation of an Ascension and a *traditio legis* as the miniature, the relief from Sinope now in Berlin, and fourteen "city-gate" and derivative sarcophagi as well as four sarcophagi of the columnar type.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the Peter on the ampullae carries not only a cross but also a key, an additional attribute which as Baumstark<sup>39</sup> points out is a particular indication of Asiatic workmanship.

Another ampulla in Berlin (Fig. 21) has a figure standing in an arched *aedicula* which rises to a finial decoration at the top of the arch. The figure enclosed in an architectural frame is a well-recognized eastern custom dating back to the late antique sarcophagi. An even more compelling criterion for the provenance of this ampulla, however, is the similarity of the decorated arch to the arched canon tables of the eastern gospel books, especially that on folio 1 v. of the Rabula gospels (Fig. 26).

Thus the positive evidence all points to the Anatolian or Syrian origin of these figured ampullae whose provenance has long been left unsettled. Owing to the similarity in iconography of the Antioch ampulla (Figs. 16 and 17) and the Rabula gospels which were done in A.D. 586, a late sixth century date is indicated for the type instead of the fifth-sixth century date given to some examples by Wulff.

34. *Ibid.*, I, 1927.

35. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 9.

36. Michon, *op. cit.*, p. 316 f.

37. Garrucci, VI, pl. 435/1.

38. Lawrence, *op. cit.* For illustration of the "city-gate" group see Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, 1929, pls. 12/3; 14/3; 39/1 and 2; 82/1; 141/5; 149; 150/1; 151/1; and 154/1. Also *ibid.*, II, 1932, pl. 188/1. Also Garrucci, V, pl. 341/1; and Bot-

tari, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, 1737-54, pl. 23. The columnar sarcophagi are reproduced in Wilpert, *op. cit.*, I, 1929, pl. 12/4 and 5; and pl. 17/1 and 2. By a stylistic and iconographic analysis of these sarcophagi Miss Lawrence shows that although done in the Latin West, they were the product of ateliers under strong "Asiatic" influence.

39. Baumstark, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff.



## PERSIANS AND PERSIAN COSTUMES IN DUTCH PAINTING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By HERMANN GOETZ

WHEREAS in England and Germany the Reformation brought a rapid decline of church art, religious painting in Holland reached another heyday in the seventeenth century, in intimate contact with Catholic Flanders and Italy. But the influence of Calvinism had been strong enough to banish the iconographic tradition built up in the course of the Middle Ages, and to replace it by a new secular conception of Biblical life culled from the realistic and historical interpretation of the Scriptures inaugurated by Erasmus of Rotterdam. According to this conception the persons of the Bible were regarded less as the actors of an eternal mystery than as contemporary human beings, and, more in harmony with the historical facts, as people of the Orient—of Eastern appearance, dress, and manners.

This idea was, however, not entirely new. In the late Middle Ages Oriental types had gained a prominent place in ecclesiastical painting. For in a time when neither the artistic remains of the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations nor of the transoceanic countries, peopled by the black, yellow, and red races, had yet been discovered, there were no other heathens known than the Mohammedans, and no other Greeks or Romans than the Byzantine Greeks, then an Eastern nation, too. In scenes taken from the Bible (or the lives of the saints and martyrs) Jewish, Roman, and other heathen persons, therefore, used to appear dressed up as real or imaginary Orientals, though the chief figures were treated in the conventional manner, a millennial development of Early Christian conceptions. The Netherlanders of the late Middle Ages had, of course, no opportunity to see the East themselves. But under the rule of the Burgundian dukes and the early Hapsburg emperors they were in close economic contact with France and Italy. All the new fashions of social life and dress as well as of art, literature, etc., found an echo in Flanders and, enriched by the inherent fertility and refinement of the Flemish spirit, were transmitted to the whole of Europe. It was primarily Italy whence the Flemish masters received the fashion of, and their ideas about, Eastern people in art, as Italy had been the first to adopt that Eastern style of dress which was to find its most extravagant expression in the Netherlands and France during the fifteenth century.

The powerful current of Eastern fashions in almost every aspect of the life of this period tended to familiarize Western artists with types hitherto regarded as outlandish. When people became accustomed to wear the Byzantine *scaranica*,<sup>1</sup> the Mohammedan turban, *tākiya* and *hennin*,<sup>2</sup> and the Central Asian bicornuate cap,<sup>3</sup> the Byzantines and Mohammedans lost much of their exotic strangeness. Italy had always been open to Eastern influences. Venice and Genoa had commercial connections with all the important emporiums

1. Kondakof, N. P., *Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine*, in *Byzantion*, I, 1924.

2. Soulier, G., *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane*, Paris, 1924. J. v. Karabacek, *Abendländische*

*Künstler zu Konstantinopel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 1918.

3. Bratianu, G. E., *Anciennes modes orientales à la fin du moyen-âge*, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VII, 1935.

of the Levant as far as Persia and Southern Russia; the council for the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches had met at Florence; Rome was the seat of the papacy; Siena seems to have been in close contact with the Franciscan missionary work in Central Asia.<sup>4</sup> Even after the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, these Italo-Asiatic relations did not cease, for Venice as well as Rome continued to have important interests in the eastern Mediterranean. Eventually a conventional type of Oriental figure sprang from the studies of the early Italian masters, Duccio and Giotto, Andrea da Firenze and the two Lorenzettis, Gentile da Fabriano and Benozzo Gozzoli;<sup>5</sup> it was a heterogeneous mixture of Syro-Egyptian, Byzantine, and Tartar components. A purely Turkish type was added by Gentile Bellini<sup>6</sup> and Pinturicchio,<sup>7</sup> which is to be seen also in the paintings of later artists such as Titian<sup>8</sup> and Tintoretto.<sup>9</sup>

It is not much later than in Italy that these conventional Easterners appear in Flemish and Dutch art,<sup>10</sup> in the paintings of the Master of Flémalle, Gerard David, Engelbrechtsz, Geertgen van Haarlem, and the Antwerp mannerists. Later the Romanists (such as Goudt, Pieter Aertsen, Jan van Scorel, Cornelis van Haarlem, Swart, van Heemskerck), and their great successors, Rubens and van Dyck, introduced Turkish figures into their compositions; yet only one of them, Pieter Coecke van Aelst,<sup>11</sup> based his drawings on his own observations in Turkey. Henceforward the East, and especially Turkey, remained a favorite source of inspiration for artists, mostly in connection with Biblical scenes. It is, however, quite obvious that these later figures, too, were not the product of a genuine acquaintance with Turkish life, but represent the style of theatre masks in fashion at the time.<sup>12</sup> The Oriental figures are convincing enough in the paintings of Pynas and Pieter Lastman but Rembrandt handled them in a very arbitrary way, adulterating the ethnic types known to him from the engravings of Melchior Lorch and Coecke van Aelst in his collection by the introduction of other features of a quite different origin. In the works of his school (N. Maes, Steen, Bramer, Backer, J. W. de Wet, J. Victors, Berckheyden, etc.) the earlier Eastern tradition brought from Italy is progressively lost and replaced by other Oriental types, Jews, Poles, Indian Mohammedans, Kalmuks, Persians, etc.

The most obvious of these new Eastern features in the art of Holland are the figures of actual Persians or of other persons in Persian costumes. This vogue was so strong that we are fairly entitled to speak of a specific Persian tradition among the Dutch artists affecting portraits and religious paintings in Eastern garb. This tradition sets in suddenly in 1626-27, slowly to ebb away about the end of the century. In the early decades of the seventeenth century the new Dutch state had built up a splendid colonial empire in the Indian seas. As the former Dutch mercantile connections with Portugal and Spain, the countries dominating Eastern trade in the sixteenth century, lapsed through the wars of political and religious independence, the big merchants of Amsterdam and of some less important Dutch towns undertook to establish direct relations with the countries which produced spices, silk, and other colonial wares. In 1595 the first Dutch ship reached India; factories were founded, in 1604 at Masulipatam, in 1609-10 at Pulikat and Negapatam, in 1616 at Surat, and in 1619 at Batavia; in 1623 the Dutch East India Company was recognized by the

4. Pouzyna, J. V., *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1935.

5. Soulier, *op. cit.*

6. Karabacek, *op. cit.*

7. Ricci, C., *Il Pintoricchio*, Paris, 1903. Karabacek, *op. cit.*

8. Pesaro Madonna.

9. Miracle of St. Mark, The Golden Calf, The Nuptials of Cana. Cf. Soulier, *Le Tintoret*, Paris, 1912.

10. Friedländer, M. J., *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924-Leyden, 1937, *passim*.

11. "Ces mœurs et façons de faire de Turcs," 1533. Maxwell, W. Stirling, *The Turks in 1533*.

12. Letter of Fr. van Thiemen, Museum of Fine Arts, The Hague.

Shah of Persia, and in 1636 it first obtained a firman of the Grand Moghul of Delhi, granting a number of privileges.<sup>13</sup>

Among all these new relations that with Persia had the most obvious influence on art. India was too strange a country to leave any impression beyond some minor particularities in the works of Lastman and Moeyart.<sup>14</sup> Persia, however, represented a world not unfamiliar to people acquainted with Turkish life and manners. For in that period Persia was for the Turks the *arbiter elegantiae* in all questions of fashion, art, and literature. The differences between the Persian and Turkish style of life and culture were, no doubt, obvious but not fundamental. The Dutch artists had, therefore, to introduce only some new variations in order to transform the familiar Turkish features into Persian. And, in fact, the Persians offered more easily available models than the Turks, who were mostly known only from old prints and from the stage, to artists who wished to depict a Biblical or other Eastern theme. For at this time Oriental people had found favor also outside the circle of ecclesiastical art. The *bizarrie* of the East was attractive to Baroque humanity, and the Eastern despots had become interesting themes for the stage in the age of absolute monarchy in Europe. Not only the Bible, but Mahomet, Tamerlane, Bayezid, Soliman the Great, or earlier Eastern rulers, such as Antiochos or Croesos, had come to provide themes of the artists; Eastern masks enjoyed the favor of the public, and for a time it was fashionable to have one's portrait painted costumed as an Oriental nobleman.

As early as 1605, the painter Cornelis Claesz-Heda of Haarlem is to be found among the retainers of the Persian ambassador to the German emperor.<sup>15</sup> When in 1623 Herbert Visnich and den Heusden were sent by Pieter van den Broecke as negotiators to the court of Shah Abbas the Great, at Ispahan, they met there another Dutch artist, Jan Lucasz van Hasselt, who later on accompanied the embassy of Musa Beg which was sent in return to Holland by Shah Abbas in 1625. It is this embassy to which must be attributed the strong Persian interest so long to be felt among the public and the artists of Holland.

"The twelfth of March, 1627, the Persian ambassador, Musa Beg, left the United Netherlands. He had arrived at Texel a year ago the ninth of February. From there he proceeded to Alkmaar where he met with an exquisite reception by the Lords (Hoogvermogenen Heeren) of the East India Company, and was escorted to Amsterdam, where free quarters and board were offered him, sometimes also by the governing magistrates and the most respectable people of the city; often he was accompanied by the young cavaliers on rides in and outside the city and entertained in the Persian way. During these festivities the presents of the king of Persia for the prince [the Governor-General] arrived, and with them he started for The Hague. In Haarlem he was received and entertained by the aldermen. The next day he and the retinue following him from Haarlem were received by His Princely Excellency, who was accompanied by thirty-six coaches in which were seated many nobles and high military officers, and he was lodged in the house reserved for the foreign ambassadors. Then he was received in audience by the Lords of the States General and the Prince of Orange, and his presents were brought by fifty-six persons in a very pompous manner and presented to the prince. Later on he was often invited to the hunt by the most important nobles and the king of Bohemia, and all the princely sports were enjoyed.

"After having spent the greatest part of the summer in this way, the ambassador men-

13. Stapel, F. W., *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Amsterdam, 1930. Heeres-Stapel, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, The Hague, 1907-1935. Terpstra, H., *De Opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague, 1918.

14. Goetz, H., *An Indian Element in Seventeenth Century Dutch Art*, in *Oud-Holland*, August, 1937.

15. Leupe, *Nederlandsche Schilders in Perzie en Hindostan*, in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1873. Hotz, A., in *Oud-Holland*, 1911.



tioned returned to Amsterdam, where the Lords of the government had ordered the Lord Ratspensionaris [Chief Secretary of the Republic] Pau, Lord Tolingh, and Knight Peter Coerten, the deputy of Zealand, to escort him from the Overtoom [now a street in the western quarters of Amsterdam] to the city, as well as to offer free lodging and board to him, his retinue, and the merchant accompanying him. But some differences induced him to depart and to return to The Hague. And with the consent of the Lords of the States General he visited the army, who received him with great honors and firing of salutes, especially at Schenckenschans, Rees, and Emmerich. There the Prince of Orange gave him an excellent reception, and sent him his coach in which he made daily excursions, inspected the army, the musterings, and all the military exercises with much astonishment. After having taken his leave from the prince he returned, much satisfied, to The Hague, where, after the lapse of some days, he received his credentials from the Lords of the States General. The document was delivered by their deputies, Count Culenburch, Lord Noordwijk, Master Vosberghen, and Master Walta. Then he departed immediately. But in the meantime the wind began to blow from the west. Thus that of the ships destined for Surat, on board of which the already mentioned painter van Hasselt had reserved a place, had already left; but that which had taken Lord Musa Beg on board had to stay in Amsterdam until March. Then he could finally leave, accompanied by Husain Beg the silk merchant, and Mohammed Sadi, his son. In his company there was also General Jan Pieterszon Coen,<sup>16</sup> on his way to the East Indies, where he was to take over the administration." (There follows a short description of Persia.)<sup>17</sup>

Dr. H. Schneider<sup>18</sup> first drew attention to this embassy in his biography of Jan Lievens. His conjecture was, no doubt, on the right track, for Persian figures do not appear in Dutch art before that year, 1627;<sup>19</sup> Lievens' Solomon, in Sanssouci, a Dutchman dressed up as a Persian, is dated 1629 (Fig. 3); Persian features are obvious in the early works of Rembrandt, i.e., about 1630. The coincidence of these dates may well be regarded as sufficient evidence, counterbalancing the absence of any direct representation of the embassy of Musa Beg in 1626/27. From that time onward a certain Persian trend becomes obvious in many Dutch paintings, but for such a long period that it cannot be regarded as a mere reminiscence of the just mentioned event. There must have been new inspiration. After his second residence in the East, Jan Lucasz van Hasselt spent his last years, 1630-53, in Holland. In 1651-52 the most pretentious and famous embassy of the Dutch East India Company went to the Persian court, that under Joan Cunaeus,<sup>20</sup> and it, too, was accompanied by a painter, Philips Angel,<sup>21</sup> who stayed in the service of Shah Abbas II for several years; after a long and successful stay in Java he returned to Holland in 1665 to die probably as late as 1683. As in his lifetime he was a not unimportant person, being not only an art dealer and writer of a well-known book on the art of painting, but also the secretary of the influential St. Lucas Guild of Haarlem, it is quite possible that in his later years he had a certain influence on other artists, e.g., Arent de Gelder, whose Biblical paintings worked up in the Persian style saw their origin in those late years of the seventeenth century. In many other cases we must, however, assume that the existing school tradition and the curi-

16. The founder of the Dutch colonial empire. At that date he entered upon his second governorship.

17. Wassenauer, Nicolaes, *Historisch Verhael aller ghe-dencwaerdiger Geschiedenissen in Europa*, Amsterdam, 1632, XII, pp. 109 a & b (correct: 117 a & b). I should like to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Dr. F. W. Stapel (Colonial Library, The Hague) for directing my attention to this passage, as well as for his kind and valuable assistance in other cases.

18. Schneider, H., *Jan Lievens*, Haarlem, 1932, pp. 29, 304.

19. Freise, *Pieter Lastman*, Leipzig, 1911, fig. 27.

20. Speelman, Cornelis, *Journal der Reis van den Gezant der Oost-Indische Compagnie Joan Cunaeus naar Perzie in 1651-1652*, ed. A. Hotz, Amsterdam, 1908.

21. Loos-Haaxman, J. de, *De Schilderkoopman Philips Angel*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, LXXI, pp. 1 ff., Batavia, 1931.

osity cabinets had the chief responsibility for the more or less accurate dress of the models used for paintings in the Eastern taste.

It is not quite easy to define the differences between the Persian, Turkish, and Indian fashions of dress during the first half of the seventeenth century, as not only the Turks but also the Indian Mohammedans copied the Persian model to a considerable degree.<sup>22</sup> These differences are not fundamental; they are to be felt only in unobtrusive details and are essentially a question of taste. In the vicinity of the Mediterranean and in the plains of Hindustan the Ottoman Turkish and the Indian dress had lost most of their original Central Asian equestrian character. The Persian and Indian costumes surpassed the Turkish ones by a refined and distinguished taste. Finally, the reforms of Shah Abbas the Great, by replacing the Qyzylbash by the new Shahseven guards, had brought about a new style in Persian dress, while the Indian Moghuls and the Turks still kept to the earlier fashions. These reforms had again emphasized the equestrian character of the Persian costume: riding breeches and top boots, a short jacket closed in front, or a coat reaching to the knees and closed under the right shoulder, sometimes a short, open waistcoat. On the head there was a cap with a broad fur brim, somewhat inclined on one ear, or a broad turban loosely wound in a studiously careless way, in most cases much higher in front than on the back, in contrast to the turban hitherto in fashion which was closely wound in the form of a high, bottle-shaped cone. The chin was shaved. The Indian dress of this period is much lighter, because of the hot climate. Its equestrian character, too, is less pronounced, so that a long qabā and long trousers with slippers found preference; finally the pagri, a diminutive turban of Seljuk origin, had taken the place of the more stately Persian and Turkish headgear. In Turkey, on the other hand, the Safavid costume of sixteenth century Persia was still in fashion, but exaggerated to a grotesque formal dignity. The turban had grown to a sort of enormous sphere, the gowns had become long and voluminous and trimmed with much fur, and the beard was not less conspicuous. It is not necessary to go into the details of the women's costumes, as Persian and Indian women were not depicted in Western art before the end of the eighteenth century. High headdresses such as the pointed turtūr or the more spheric tākiya, though known in earlier centuries in other Moslem countries, were, during the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth, in use only in Turkey, in most cases covered by the big cloak which used completely to veil Mohammedan women.<sup>23</sup>

In Western art these Oriental fashions were to undergo a number of transformations, which must be explained by the insufficient acquaintance of the artists with the East. The modifications are, however, not arbitrary but the result of using models indiscriminately without sufficiently taking into account their different places and times of currency. It is well worth while to study the nature of these anachronisms. Besides the real Persian turban described above there is to be found in Dutch art another turban similar in form but tightly wound, which had been in fashion in the East about 1500 and which had been introduced into Dutch art by the earlier Flemish masters, from whose works it was copied by the later painters (especially Gerbrand van den Eeckhout). More pronounced inaccuracies resulted from the fantastic products of the Antwerp mannerists and the headdresses of the Burgundian period. Crowns<sup>24</sup> in the turban, on the other hand, as well as long curled hair,

22. Goetz, H., *A History of Persian Costume*, in *Survey of Persian Art and Archaeology*, London, Oxford University Press, 1938. *Idem*, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmogul-Zeit*, Berlin, 1930. Cf. also in *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, I, Leipzig, 1924.

23. Cf. Karabacek, *op. cit.*; D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1787-1820; Taeschner, F., *All-Stambuler Hof-und Staatsleben*, Hannover, 1925. Cf. also the chief female figure in Tintoretto's *Golden Calf*.

24. Kondakof, *op. cit.*



FIG. 1—Dresden, Gallery: *Joseph Finds the Cup in the Bag of Benjamin*, by Jan Victors



FIG. 2—The Hague, Mauritshuis: *The Court of the Temple*, by Aert de Gelder





FIG. 3—Potsdam, Sanssouci Palace: *The So-called Solomon*,  
by Jan Lievens



FIG. 4—Rotterdam, Boymans Museum: *Boas and Ruth*,  
by G. van den Eckhout

are both survivals of the late, semi-Tartar,<sup>25</sup> Byzantine tradition transmitted by early Italian and Flemish artists. Another misunderstood Byzantine feature is the fringed shawl or coat introduced, as it seems, into Dutch painting by Rembrandt; probably it is a misrepresentation of the *scaranica*, that late Byzantine costume depicted on many works of the Italian Quattrocentists, and by the mannerists of Antwerp. The influence of Polish costumes is even more obvious in the Eastern dress of the Dutch paintings; it could easily be confounded with the Turkish or Persian models because the old Polish, as well as the early Russian costume, was an offshoot of Tartar fashions, of the type developed at the court of Tamerlane in Samarkand. The cloak has a confused history. Only seldom is the genuine Persian form, easily thrown on, to be found; in most cases it is a gorgeous Western royal and priestly cloak which had in the works of the Italian and Flemish artists little by little replaced the original North African cape of the royal Three Magi. Finally must be mentioned a broad baldric thrown over one shoulder, which was not customary in the contemporary East, but can be seen on the triptych of Gentile da Fabriano in the Uffizi.

Of course, it is impossible in this brief study to enumerate all the drawings, engravings, etc., in which Persian features or inspiration are obvious; we must restrict ourselves to some of the most conspicuous landmarks. Some paintings have already been mentioned. The Sermon of St. John the Baptist is the only painting of Lastman in which an acquaintance with the Persians can be pointed out; it was one of his last works. But Lievens painted quite a number of figures of this type; besides the so-called Solomon (Fig. 3) in Sanssouci (in fact but a dressed-up Dutch gentleman) there are several studies of heads, in Rotterdam, Philadelphia, and London,<sup>26</sup> which create the impression of being in fact modeled on some member of the Persian embassy of 1626/27, if not on Musa Beg himself. Another half-length portrait (in 1925 in the possession of an art dealer in The Hague) betrays genuine Persian features in the ethnic type and the turban; but the turban has been misunderstood, and the breastplate is a requisite more familiar to us in the works of Rembrandt and his school. Another early painting in the Persian fashion is the Elisha of Pieter de Grebber, a pupil of Goltzius, in the Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem, showing a very realistic turban and galloon-trimmed coat, but a cloak of Western style (1637). On the other hand the Persian Lady (better the Florentine) in some such costume by Kaspar Heuvick of Oudenaarde (1614) is only a misunderstanding of Friedrich Sarre's.<sup>27</sup> At present we know only one Western portrait of a Persian lady of the seventeenth century, that of Lady Teresia, wife of Sir Robert Shirley.<sup>28</sup> Her portrait by Heuvick might have been very interesting. But she had become a Christian and is dressed in European style. And the high cap she wears was quite unknown in contemporary Persia; rather it was the usual headgear of Turkish women in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Persian figures and features appear in the works of Rembrandt, too, almost from the beginning. Rembrandt treated them, however, in a very arbitrary way, much more so than any of the masters already mentioned, or, even as we shall observe, than his own pupils. It was very seldom that he tried to reproduce any Eastern persons or costumes in a faithful manner; even in these cases the Turkish, Polish, and Indian features are more

25. *Ibid.*

26. Based on the photographic reproductions in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische en Iconografische Documentatie at The Hague (the former private collection of Hoofstede de Groot). In preparing this study I have had much kind assistance from its director, Dr. H. Schneider, as well as from Dr. Gerson of the same institute, from Pro-

fessor Martin of the Mauritshuis, and from Mr. van de Waal of the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings of the University of Leyden.

27. *Berichte aus den Berliner Museen*, LVI, no. 3, 1935, p. 70 f.

28. *Catalogue of the Victoria Memorial*, Calcutta, no. 180.

conspicuous than the Persian element. Examples in his early work<sup>29</sup> are the Pilate in the painting, *Christ Shown to the People* (1633), in London; *The Young Samson* (1636), in Boston (under the influence of Lievens?); and the supposed portrait of his father in the Kleinberger Collection. Among his works of the 'forties see the *David and Absalom* (1642), in Leningrad, an excellent representation of the Persian ethnic type and dress (for the baldric cf. above), and a secondary figure of the *Christ and the Adultress* (1644), in London. Later, some figures in the *Crucifixion* of 1653, the father in the *Prodigal Son* (of the 'sixties) in Leningrad, and the *Belshazzar* (but with a beard in the Indian fashion) in *Belshazzar's Feast*, Lord Derby Collection, Knowles House, represent Persians.

Rembrandt's influence on his numerous pupils was as many-sided as his own oeuvre. Among other sides of his gigantic activity many of them adopted his Oriental inclinations. And it is interesting to observe how the prototypes created by him were copied and developed, often by making use even of the same studio properties. Persian influence left its mark especially on the paintings of three of his pupils, Willem de Poorter, Jan Victors, and Aert de Gelder. But it is visible also in the works of several others, though in a varying degree and manner. The *David Forgiving Absalom*, by Barent Fabritius,<sup>30</sup> is somewhat fantastic, but goes back to a Persian prototype. The same might be said of a self-portrait of Govaert Flink. Turkish, Tartar, and Polish features dominate in the Orientalizing works of Nicolaes Maes,<sup>31</sup> but his Pilate looks like a grandee of the Safavid Empire. Salomon Koninck dressed the Magi of the Adoration in the *Mauritshuis* at The Hague in Persian costumes made up with some Indian accessories, his Oriental in a private collection at Munich is, however, more accurate.<sup>32</sup> Gerbrand van den Eeckhout occupies an intermediate position. Most of his paintings are based on such a profound study not only of Rembrandt, but also of the fifteenth and sixteenth century masters that little scope is left to contemporary Eastern impressions; nevertheless his *Boas and Ruth* (Fig. 4) and his *Eleazar at the Well* (art dealer, Paris, 1932) must be regarded as excellent representations of Persian types, though it is obvious that he made use of Lastman's *Laban at Boulogne-sur-Mer* as a model in the case of the former painting, and though Indian (parasol and sword) as well as other non-Persian decorative accessories have been introduced into the latter. Jean de Wet, too, may be mentioned though he generally favored a Turkish make-up.

There remain to be discussed the three true representatives of the Persian fashion in the school of Rembrandt, Aert de Gelder, Jan Victors, and Willem de Poorter. As all of them lived in the middle and second half of the seventeenth century, it is very improbable that any of them ever saw a real Persian. But whereas the earlier painters betray a no doubt inaccurate and arbitrary, but real, knowledge of the embassy of Musa Beg, these later artists worked in the opposite way. Their general ideas about the East are conventional and drawn from tradition, but they try to make up for this deficiency by a careful study of good and genuine Persian objects. It seems quite probable that the famous embassy of Joan Cunaeus not only revived the interest in paintings *à la Persane*, but also entailed the import of a considerable number of Persian arms, costumes, shawls, and other artistically decorated things. And as we may suppose that other Dutchmen such as the painter Philips Angel or the merchants of the East India Company brought back a lot of original objects, it must not have been difficult for an artist to get all the Oriental material necessary for dressing his models.

29. Weisbach, Werner, *Rembrandt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926; Valentiner, W. R., *Rembrandt und seine Umgebung*, Strasbourg, 1905.

30. Auction LHR, Paris, March 13, 1914, no. 16.

31. Valentiner, W. R., *Nicolaes Maes*, Stuttgart, 1924.

32. Auction Grossmann, October 30, 1902, no. 75.



Aert de Gelder<sup>33</sup> must have had all the connections with colonial circles necessary for bringing together a rich collection of first-hand Eastern curios as his father had occupied an important position in the service of the Dutch West India Company. On the other hand, the strong influence of Rembrandt is unmistakable in his work, especially in his Esther cycle (at Berlin, Amiens, Munich, Budapest). Yet the Persian features do not predominate and they are mixed with others of a Spanish (e.g., the Valencian costume of the Jewish Bride in the Aeltere Pinakothek, Munich) or of a more conventional tradition. The curious headdresses of his women (Esther, at Amiens, and Bathsheba at the bed of the dying king David, Philadelphia), worn with the traditional Venetian Renaissance costumes, are remarkable and worth a more detailed investigation. The Court of the Temple, in the Mauritshuis (Fig. 2) reveals a comprehensive survey of Persian dress fashions otherwise almost unknown to Dutch artists, and in the Entombment at Aschaffenburg there appears another set of quite new types such as came into use only towards the end of the century in the wake of the overthrow of the Safavid dynasty of Persia by Nadir Shah. A satisfactory explanation of this extraordinary acquaintance with the latest cultural revolutions in the East is still to be found. About that time another Dutch artist, Cornelis de Bruyn,<sup>34</sup> made several trips through Russia, Persia, and the Indies, and brought home a collection of drawings executed on the spot. Though no conclusive evidence is available, the chronology and circumstances of the lives of the two artists leave room for the conjecture that de Bruyn was the source of de Gelder's knowledge about the Persia of those years.

In the paintings of Jan Victors, however, the Persian note is not so pronounced. Impressions from other Eastern countries appear, especially from Poland (Joseph Finding the Cup, (Fig. 1) Dresden; Saul Anointing David, Brunswick; Esther and Haman, Brunswick) but also from Turkey (The Caravan, Argoutinski-Dolgoroukof sale, Amsterdam, 1925), and there are borrowings from the Antwerp mannerists (Moses in the Bulrushes, Dresden). But the fine understanding of Eastern life to which so much of the high quality of the works of de Gelder is due, is lacking; you never get from Victors a plausible impression of an exotic milieu but are always conscious of an obtrusive group of superficially dressed-up models. Yet it is probable that his most interesting pictures were directly inspired by the embassy of Joan Cunaeus as the Persian features are most conspicuous in works painted at that very period.

Willem de Poorter is even less satisfactory. Though he had a predilection for Eastern themes and liked to use the same mixture of Persian and Polish make-up as Victors, he seems to have completely depended on, and to have misunderstood, the earlier creations of other artists.<sup>35</sup>

Aert de Gelder was the last splendid representative of this Eastern, and especially Persian, vogue in Dutch art. His paintings at Aschaffenburg had already broken with the tradition initiated by Lastman, Lievens, and Rembrandt, and after his death the Persian fashion, too, ended. The coming of French taste does not sufficiently account for this decay of a century-old fashion in art. The new spirit of the age, the return to an individualistic enjoyment of this sublunar life, already foreboded in the works of Hals, Steen, Vermeer, Terborch, etc., no longer favored the pompous and gloomy religious scenes. And when absolute royalty ceased to be an ideal and became the object of increasing hostility, the

33. Lilienfeld, K., *Aert de Gelder*, The Hague, 1914.

34. Loos-Haaxman, J. de, *De Schilder Cornelis de Bruyn en het portret van Joan van Hoorn*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, LXXV, pp. 218 ff., Batavia, 1935.

35. Solomon Sacrifices to the Idols, Amsterdam; Samson and Delilah, Berlin; Croesos Shows his Treasures to Solon, Leningrad; Resurrection of Lazarus, Munich; Christ in the Temple, Dresden (photographs, Rijksbureau, The Hague).

supermen and despots of the East, too, lost their attraction for the public. Asia continued to exercise its spell on the European mind, but it was now another part of Asia—China. For the Jesuit missionaries' accounts of China and Confucian philosophy brought Leibnitz and the philosophers of Reason to the conviction that that country was the long-sought model of a state and a society based only on reason and the good inborn instincts of humanity. Thus the Persianizing fashion of the Dutch painters was finally supplanted by French *chinoiserie* as it had a century before supplanted the *mode à la turque* of the Italian and Flemish masters.

# HANS VON MARÉES AND THE CLASSICAL DOCTRINE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By ALFRED NEUMEYER

## I

THE development of European art in the early nineteenth century is determined by two main currents—the naturalistic and the idealistic. On the one side we observe the break with the “studio” tradition and the “golden tone,” expressed in the work of Constable and the early French or German naturalists, such as Michel, Friedrich, Waldmueller, and the “Kleinmeister” of the Empire; on the other side we find “la religion de Raphael,” represented by Ingres and the Nazarenes. When Raphael sounds the war-cry of the one group, the other answers with Rubens; where the first is concerned with noble line and harmonious composition, the second is devoted to color and tension in form. The Raphael and Rubens groups, like the Raphael and Michelangelo factions in the sixteenth century, indicate not only different conceptions of the artistic method, but also different conceptions of life. Courbet had “never seen an angel in his life,” while Rossetti was sheltered from the hardships of reality by a wall of white angel wings. The Naturalists accepted willingly the heritage of the Dutch with their absorbed devotion to nature and life; the Idealists obeyed the formula “l’art pour l’art,” the dangerous phrase introduced by Théophile Gautier. These two methods of interpretation of the artistic task had existed indeed since the Baroque period with its “grand gout” and “petit gout,” but the distinction became more and more tangible as the religious and dynastic unification of mankind began to break apart.

In this dialectical scheme I have omitted Romanticism because it created no unified style of its own.<sup>1</sup> The Romantic movement considered itself antagonistic to Classicism (which in my scheme would be a part of the Idealistic movement) and its intellectual, unimaginative outlook on life and art.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Romanticism in German art usually expressed its new content in the linear outline formula of Classicism but, especially in landscape painting, with a more naturalistic approach. In French art, on the other hand, Romanticism claims color as its main instrument of self-expression. It is little concerned with a photographic approach to painting and lacks the “Andacht zum Kleinen” typical of German Romanticism. While I shall omit Romanticism’s lesser effect on form in the nineteenth century, I shall consider it in its relationship to subject matter.

The Romanticists adapted the recently discovered art of the fifteenth century to modern taste, the Idealists the sixteenth century art, and the Naturalists the seventeenth century art. The Romanticists added modern introspection and sentiment; the Naturalists preserved the heritage of Northern intimacy with nature; the Idealists maintained the Medi-

1. For the problem see Neumeyer, Alfred, *Is there a Romantic Style?* in *Parnassus*, December, 1937, pp. 13 ff.

2. The conflicting positions were uttered in harsh words by Goethe and Ingres on the one front, by F. Schlegel and

Delacroix on the other front. Finally Heinrich Heine, formerly a devoted Romanticist himself, gave a sharp criticism of the Romantic period.



terranean conception by a general abstract idea of harmonized beauty. In the nineteenth century the public, always more willing to look at subject matter than at form, was more inclined to accept a moderate naturalism than a radical idealism. However, the word "moderate" is very decisive, since whenever strong new colors were used, whenever subject matter was lacking, the painting of neither current was understood. Therefore Romanticism, with its story-telling tendency, expanding from the profound nature poesy of Germany in about 1810 and developing to the banal historicism of 1870, the "Gruenderzeit," was always more highly esteemed than the approach of an Ingres or a Courbet. In so far as art was a Romantic consolation and a bourgeois entertainment it became a substitute for religion, and thus Romanticism indicates to a large degree the secularization of the human spirit. It means further: longing without an aim, "longing for the longing" (Novalis); desire to escape the increasing thrust of social and economic conditions means the "ivory tower" and the battlefields of the past mummified between gilded frames. So understood, Romanticism becomes the most dangerous enemy of both groups, of the Idealists as well as the Naturalists. It deprives the first of the dignity of form independent of subject matter, the latter of the truth and power of objective observation. Without having found its own form in art it softens the energy of the two others. This was the situation when Hans von Marées entered upon the stage of European painting.

Why the necessity to point just to the name of Marées? It is in order to direct interest to one of the greatest painters of the Idealistic current, to one of the instructors of the modern period, to one of the strongest characters of the century, and to a man almost unknown outside the boundaries of Germany. Thanks to Julius Meier-Gräfe's indefatigable devotion to his hero<sup>3</sup> and to the publication of Hans von Marées' letters,<sup>4</sup> we can today be well informed concerning the life, art, and ideas of this painter. But to study his work one has to go to Germany. Except for the frescoes in the Zoological Institute in Naples no foreign museum owns even one of his paintings or masterful drawings. No foreign art history offers to him the rank of the absolutely leading master he really is. What a strange contrast to find the State galleries of Munich and Berlin centered around a hall in honor of Hans von Marées and to discover that in Michel's art history<sup>5</sup> (which ranks Puvis de Chavannes above Marées) he is given not more than half a page. However, there must be other reasons besides the concentration of his work in Germany for the fact that this painter has not yet found his right place in the international conception of nineteenth century art.

First of all his œuvre is small. Over conscientious as this artist was, it took him a long time to realize his ideas. His artistic temperament was entirely different from that of the impressionist. Like the artist of the Renaissance period he aimed for an "Existenzbild," a picture representing absolute and independent existence and not the fugitive, if life-absorbing, moment. Further, this œuvre is not only limited in quantity but is fragmentary. Self-critical analysis and the desire for perfection forced the artist to destroy the result of years of painstaking labor or to go over finished canvasses to such an extent that the artistic unity is lost. Something of the fight between matter and idea embodied in Michelangelo's "Slaves" acts in Marées' work too: the noble and tragic destiny of a soul in schismatic troubles. The writer of the chapter on German art in Michel's art history finds in this fragmentary quality the reason for ranking Marées below Chavannes. This seems to me the same as to put Cellini above Michelangelo on account of the fragmentary

3. Meier-Gräfe, Julius, *Hans von Marées*, 3 vols., Munich, 1910.

4. Hans von Marées, *Briefe*, Munich, 1920.

5. Michel, André, *Histoire de l'Art*, VIII, 2.

features in the latter's œuvre. Perfection may sometimes radiate brighter through the incomplete fragment than through the finished work. But no doubt this has hampered the understanding of Marées' art.

Hans von Marées was born December, 24, 1837, at Elberfeld in the Rheinland, the son of a Prussian high judge. His father's family belonged to the Huguenot group which had left France in the seventeenth century to settle in Germany. A George de Marées is well-known as one of the finest portrait painters of the eighteenth century in Germany.<sup>6</sup> Marées' mother, née Lachmann, was of Jewish descent.

In 1853 young Marées, excelling in wit and temperament, started his career as a painter of horses and soldiers. It was in Berlin in the school of the cavalry painter Franz Steffek, who is also known as the teacher of Max Liebermann. Nothing sensational can be found in Marées' early studies, with their exact, "realistic" features. In 1857, after an utterly unsuccessful start in Berlin, he went to Munich and there found a different artistic atmosphere, one that aroused his slumbering sense for decorative beauty. Instead of the honest but simple naturalism of the Berlin school, Munich was at this time developing its monumental history painting under Piloty and his students. The inborn Bavarian sense for rich decoration and the Mediterranean characteristics introduced by Peter von Cornelius after 1820 became amalgamated now with the Belgian school of history painting, represented by Gallait and Bièfve, and this resulted in a pompous, theatrical presentation of large historical scenes. These lean substitutes for Italian beauty might have awakened for the first time the Renaissance sense in Marées. But more important were the Italian pictures, stored in the gallery of Schleissheim, where the young painter worked for a Russian employer in a new colorful bravura style, outraging his colleagues by a smashing use of loaded brush strokes à la Veronese. No doubt, this sensuous technique was more in the spirit of his youthful temper than the painstaking observation of the Berlin school. It was more appealing, but it was more dangerous too, as is proved by the superficiality of the Piloty and Makart school. But the needle of his inner compass announced this danger to Marées. Much too refined, much too intelligent not to feel the butcher's fist in the new Veroneses, he proceeded into a deeper analysis of painting. It is in this period that we see him in a double portrait with his friend Lenbach, who later became the international representative of the Munich school of portrait painting in the Bismarck era (Fig. 4). Mephistolike, the pale face of young Marées glances at us from behind the shoulder of Lenbach. He is still devoted to the effect of brilliance, but it is a very spiritualized one in the sense of a Velasquez portrait. The courageous sweep of the brushstroke, recognizable especially in the painter's hand, expresses temperament and intelligence. Behind the eyeglasses irony plays, and the gloomy brown color radiates an intellectual mood. Not yet fully in his own style, it is already one of the best German portraits of his generation.

In the same period his first real masterpiece is created—The Bath of Diana, painted in 1863 (Fig. 5). At first glance it appears an adaptation of Venetian art, but it is more than that. When we look at his other paintings of the same period, we observe that he is developing this style also in the "cavalry pictures," paintings independent of any foreign example. The problem of the maintenance of the plane of the canvas and the questions interlocked with this rise now in his mind. In these cavalry pictures the naturalistic likeness of the groups and the illusionistic recession of the composition are counteracted by an arrangement in straight stripes, corresponding to the square form of the canvas. Here the

6. Cf. Georges de Marées' self-portrait from 1760, in Munich, Ältere Pinakothek, reproduced in Goldscheider,

*Five Hundred Self-Portraits*, Vienna and London, 1936, no. 300.

clear outlines disappear as well as the realistic detail and yield to broad, warm color spots with a unifying tendency. Form and subject matter melt together, a mythological timelessness descends upon Marées. He, Chassériau, and Ingres seem to me the only artists in the nineteenth century in whom a complete unity between the Mediterranean form and the subject matter of mythology has been reached, where form and meaning become identical, because they emanate from an intense longing for the Absolute in form and life. David, Couture, Rossetti, Puvis de Chavannes, Feuerbach, and Boecklin, though working towards the same aim, never attained this last necessity of line, color, and composition, and through the gaps, therefore, the literary meaning always emerges, the story of the picture.

It is otherwise in Marées. The literary element does not obtrude in this picture. Diana rests after the bath—that is all. But the silk-blue color of the draperies, the white of the bodies glowing among the emerald greens of the woods, the warmth and depth of the greys and the pinks create a musical mood of a quite general character. This mood is prevented, however, from becoming formless and merely luxurious by the use of a very clear and simple system of lines and intervals. Already we find the inclination towards the horizontal and vertical, emphasizing by its mere existence each deviation from the fundamental square system. What this picture lacks, compared with his later works, is the complete knowledge of human anatomy, the plasticity of form, and the art of creating meaningful intervals even between the smallest details. On the other hand, it seems to me that Marées was never happier in the use of color than in this painting. Not yet disturbed by the experimentalism which was so dangerous for his later work, he is already in possession of a color scheme unequalled in preciousness by that of any other German painter of the century. It seems that he has not only studied the Venetian painters but also those of the French eighteenth century. The silky character of his blue apparently owes more to a Rigaud or Watteau than to Giorgione or Veronese.<sup>7</sup> However, one shortcoming must be mentioned. Marées, like the other Munich painters of the period, uses the hazardous asphaltum black, which endangers the paint-film by its perishableness.

If we look about in his own century, however, we find that Marées' use of color does not stand isolated. In the school of Couture and under the influence of Delacroix' palette (itself formed by the study of Rubens and Veronese) the color scheme of a certain group of painters became sensuous and warm, inclined to the use of broad brush strokes which blur the outlines. To this group belong Chassériau and Diaz in France, and the young Feuerbach, a student of Couture, in Germany. Color to these artists meant not the tonality of local colors under the influence of sunlight; it meant a decorative value independent of any objective reality.

A picture so "classical" in spirit and form as the Bath of Diana makes it understandable that its artist would have to go to Italy, second homeland for so many of the artists of the Idealistic current. This opportunity came to Marées in 1864 through the sponsorship of Count Schack from Munich, who sent him, as he had Feuerbach, Lenbach, and others to copy Italian paintings for his gallery. It was hard work, unbearable for a genius who was just unfolding his wings. Like Feuerbach, Marées suffered and finally resigned.<sup>8</sup> Thus without money, without any reputation, unwilling to compromise, but with unpainted pictures for more than a lifetime in his mind, he was met in 1866 by Conrad Fiedler, who

7. At the Baroque Exhibition in Burlington House, London, 1937, was a picture by Sir Peter Lely, *Idyll* (reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, January, 1938, pl. 5), which shows the type of picture that may have influenced Ma-

rées. Or did he achieve his style without any influence, by his inborn classical tendency?

8. Marées, *Letters*, nos. 7 and 8.





FIG. 1—Berlin, National Gallery: *Neapolitan Oarsmen*,  
*Sketch for the Fresco at Naples*, 1873

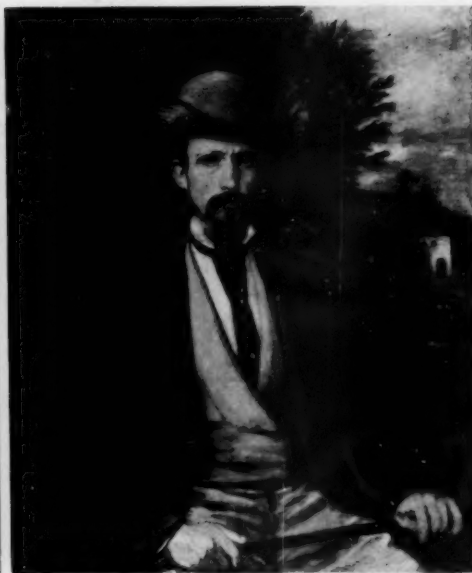


FIG. 2—Berlin, National Gallery:  
*Self-Portrait*, c. 1874



FIG. 3—Berlin, National Gallery *Rest in the Woods*,  
c. 1870



FIG. 4—Munich, Neue Staatsgalerie:  
*Marées (Left) and Lenbach*, c. 1863

*Paintings by Hans von Marées*



FIG. 5—Munich, Neue Staatsgalerie: *Bath of Diana*, by Marie Perle, 1863

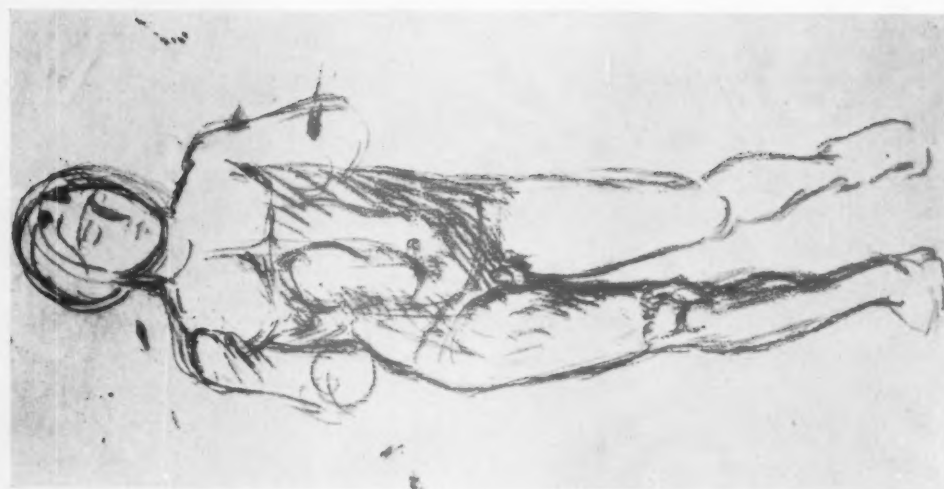


FIG. 6—Wuppertal-Elberfeld, Museum:  
*Drawing in Red Chalk*, by Marie Perle

was then traveling through Europe to clarify his art philosophy through a deeper knowledge of European art.

Henceforth we can follow Marées in his fight for "realization" (a word used independently of Cézanne by Marées and in the same sense), both in art and in his external life, for the letters between Marées and Conrad Fiedler, who after 1866 became his life-long Maecenas and friend, have been published, and they unveil one of the most profound and productive friendships of the last century. When we look at a self-portrait from this period, one recently bought by the National Gallery in Berlin from the Silberberg collection in Breslau (Fig. 2), we can understand that this friendship demanded unlimited understanding and patience from Conrad Fiedler. The face of Marées reveals now a slightly Don Quixotic character. His aristocratic nature (he once painted himself as St. George killing the dragon) despises mediocrity, and on the slightest occasion he is over-sensitive. Ideas grow larger and larger in his mind, but no one was able to control this growth, since for years only a few people were to be allowed to enter his studio, and not even Fiedler. Some young artists like Bruckmann and Pidoll are gathered around him at this time and listen to his feverish and masterly eloquence, but no one knows to what extent the great adviser had done work comparable in importance with his theories. Even in Fiedler's pamphlet on Marées,<sup>9</sup> published in memory of the artist two years after his death, one feels a vacillating uncertainty as to the real value of his friend, due to the fact that there had been no exhibition or large private display which could have revealed Marées' work as an organic unity.

Something in common between Marées and Van Gogh speaks to us through the portraits of the two artists: fanaticism; a melancholy renunciation which comes from their encounter with daily life; finally, the facing of an ideal of painting and of mankind which was invisible to their contemporaries. In each case there was only one friend, who protected the isolated fighter by unshaken trust—Theo and Fiedler. Like Van Gogh, Marées realized the limited time he had for his work. He died in his full maturity in Rome in 1887, known only to a small group of friends and devoted students. Yet without any vanity he was convinced that he had founded "the grammar of future painting."

From the time when for once a moderately favorable destiny offered him a chance to do fresco work in Naples, Marées' ideas were incessantly occupied with murals. The fourteen remaining years must be understood as a heroic struggle for the expression of the monumental in a period which not only had lost the tradition of the monumental but also the desire for it. The "snapshot" of daily life liked to express itself in a moderate size. Furthermore, the decline of architecture in the nineteenth century had also definitely separated the art of picture making from its natural function as a wall decoration. Marées, completely isolated in this age of early Impressionism, fought his way towards a new era of monumental art fifteen to eighteen years before Gauguin and Van Gogh rediscovered the decorative and social function of painting.

It was a great help to the painter that Adolf Hildebrand, later the most influential sculptor of Germany, was with him as a skilful helper and a devoted friend during his work on the first floor of the Zoological Station in Naples, where the summer of 1873 brought the first fulfillment of Marées' monumental dreams.<sup>10</sup> However, the wall space given to Marées was modest in size and the architectural surroundings did not offer any higher suggestions. Standing in the rather sober room one has first to overcome the lack of any

9. Fiedler, Konrad, *Hans von Marées*, Munich, 1889.

10. Hartwig, Paul, *Hans von Marées' Fresken in Neapel*, Berlin, 1909.



architectural inspiration. Then one may raise one's head to the more sublime world of the frescoes. And there it is not the content but the form which lends nobility. Subject matter is of the simplest: fishermen rowing, fishermen carrying their nets, fruit pickers, and a group of friends sitting near the staircase of an inn—these are the instruments of translating the experience of daily life into a half mythical super-reality.

From the beginning the eternal themes of sculpture are the painter's main concern: the human body and its function. Looking at the way the figures sit and stand, raise their arms or bend their knees, we experience that same life-stimulating energy in ourselves that we receive from a contact with classical sculpture. The plastic research, however, is subordinated to the decorative purpose of the fresco. Maintenance of the plane and the rhythmical division of the wall space are the elements of decoration for which the painter stands. His highest achievement in these frescoes seems to me the Neapolitan oarsmen, especially the preparatory oil painting which is today in the National Gallery in Berlin (Fig. 1). Here there is the happiest harmony between the theme of the painting and the artistic aim. The rhythmic action of the oarsmen and their symmetrical arrangement in a boat could be translated without the usual conscious effort into a rhythmical pattern. The color scheme tries to express the happiness and warmth we find in Bonifazio or the mature Titian. Especially in the preparatory painting the sun-golden hat of the fisherman in the second row, answered by the red scarf of the fisherman in front and by the deep blue of the water create the atmosphere of a Venetian pastorella. Never before had a Northerner (not even Dürer or Berchem, not to speak of the Classicists) created a work so completely born in the Mediterranean spirit without imitating or copying or giving up his own artistic personality. In Hans von Marées, as in Goethe, the Northern love for the South came to its most natural productivity.

Next to the oarsmen the fresco of the Friends at the Inn may be the best. It is the only one in which foreign influences can be observed. The old woman sitting by the side wall of the staircase is taken from Titian's Presentation, in the Academy at Venice. In addition to this motive one feels careful study of the architecture of Carpaccio and Titian, which is analyzed here for its structural values in a period when everywhere else only the luxurious and sensuous qualities of Venetian painting were studied (Mackart, Feuerbach, Boecklin). Of the group of friends sitting around the table, especially interesting are the two figures to the right. It is Hans von Marées himself who looks out of the picture together with his younger friend Hildebrand. In a fascinating and courageous way the modern group is brought together with the timeless world of strict architectonic form.

Although not the most important of the representations, the scene with the orange pickers is the one which connects most closely with Marées' later work. Its lack of narrative content and its concern with mere existence draw it near to the great frescoes of the 'eighties. The beginning of Marées' singular relationship to nature may already be observed here; this relationship is expressed by Hildebrand in the following words:<sup>11</sup>

"Für ihn war die Situation, die architektonische Harmonie der Erscheinung, das Wesentliche, und so kam es, dass er sich vergeblich abmühte, an diesen gewiss wesentlichen Brennpunkt der künstlerischen Form zu gelangen. Dieselbe hat eine andre Ursache und muss als Tatsache verstanden werden, kann nimmermehr eine Folge des Verhältnisses der Dinge untereinander sein. So bildete er denn immermehr die Stelle aus, wo eine bestimmte gegebene Form, sei es Hand oder Fuss etc., zu stehn kam, konnte sie jedoch als Naturobject nicht einfügen."

11. Hildebrand, Adolf, *Briefe an Konrad Fiedler*, ed. by G. Jachmann, Dresden, 1927, p. 261, letter of February, 1888.

Hildebrand brings out one essential thing in Marées' attitude toward the visible world when he states that this painter strives more for the relation of the things one to another than for the things themselves. A sort of "functional" composition results, comparable in regard to this problem to the contemporary efforts of Cézanne in the Card Players, of Seurat in La Grande Jatte, and of the groups of Puvis de Chavannes. Another means of creating the "functional" style throughout the picture is the accentuation of the joints in the single body, the accentuation of the points where the bone structure grants action.<sup>12</sup> The treatment of the wrist in the figures of Donatello and Michelangelo, with its absolute distinctness and flexibility is decidedly in the line of Marées' conception. Even when represented in a resting pose the figure must be so distinct that any sort of action can be imagined immediately. Starting from this accentuation as Hildebrand tells us, Marées develops a "canon" of possible architectonic "situations" instead of an interpretation of what is visible. Hildebrand's analysis is accompanied by a sort of reproach that his former friend lacked the intimate and naïve relationship with nature, a contact which Hildebrand possessed to a much greater degree. For a moment Vasari's report on Michelangelo's frescoes in the Capella Paolina comes to our mind. Does it not sound somewhat like Hildebrand's analysis (Vasari, XI, p. 225)?

"Michelangelo attended only, as I have elsewhere said, to the perfection of art. There are no landscapes, nor trees, nor houses, nor again do we find in his work that variety of movement and prettiness which may be noticed in the pictures of other men."

Without comparing their quality as artists, we may say that both Michelangelo and Marées have something fundamental in common, their "classic" inclination to see in the human body the cardinal point of art and life and to overlook with haughty neglect the sensuous "accessories" of nature. In a historical comparison Hildebrand states the same thing when he writes in the letter quoted above that Marées developed more and more from the Venetian Cinquecento towards antiquity.

We may glance at a work which is full of the mood of Venice and Spain, both of which Marées had visited a few years previously with Fiedler, before we turn to the artist's "classical" period. I refer to the Rest in the Woods (Fig. 3), dating from about 1870 and now in the National Gallery in Berlin. The picture is a fragment. It works in the Spanish manner from the dark into the light with a sonority and warmth of hue which is abandoned later. The architectonic spirit is limited to the composition in rectangular and diagonal forms; the color has not yet attained the later systematic organization which follows the laws of music rather than those of architecture. There is still incorporated in the picture an element of the personal, subjective mood, which in the "classic" period will disappear in favor of pure objectivity. We would reduce Marées to a pedantic formalist if we did not consider it worth while to dwell a moment on the specific sentiment of this painting. We see a man about to take leave of his companion and to mount his horse. His body expresses the moment before action; it has an undulating, active outline and an arrangement of the limbs which indicates an imminent change of position. However, as in Giotto's fresco, Christ and Judah, in Padua, the real content of the painting is concentrated on something intangible, on the exchange of glances between the two main figures. Tenderly one hand of the young woman rests on the shoulder of her friend. We know from Marées' letters that

12. Pidoll, Karl von, *Aus der Werkstatt eines Künstlers*, Luxembourg, 1908.

he several times translated a personal experience into a mythological picture, and whatever the impulse for this painting may have been, it stands apart by reason of its warmth and intimacy from the rest of his canvasses. It belongs nearer to the Naples frescoes than to the pictures of his last decade, and thus marks the end of the artist's youthful period. But it is also a typical expression of the unchanging permanence of his character with its avoidance of the loud and obvious, its serenity and devotion to an unfulfilled dream of perfect beauty.

The years from 1872 to 1885 must be understood as a period of preparation, of struggle, and of concentrated effort leading to the great frescoes, *The Hesperides* and *The Three Saints*. "Realization" is the word which we hear now in the painter's admonition to friends, the word which in his esthetic vocabulary he has in common with Cézanne. Several compositions in the Staatsgalerie (Munich) and in the National Gallery in Berlin, showing variations upon the theme of an Arcadian life, prepare the way for the final creations. What is it that Marées strives for? What sort of realization is it that forces him to go over some of his pictures fifty to eighty times (cf. *Letters*, p. 228)? We have to add another favorite expression of Marées before we are sufficiently equipped to answer this question. We find in the written and oral utterances of his "classical" period that he is striving for the creation of a "grammar" for the painting of the future. This grammar not only leads back from the disorderly and thoughtless painting of the naturalistic period to a systematic use of forms, it helps to establish a wider range of means which the painter may employ. We may summarize with profit the main points of the "grammar."

Horizontal and vertical are the primary elements of composition. Every form deviating from the primary elements must be related to them by diagonal lines. Verticals are columns in the templelike architecture of a painting. Where the column of a body or a tree meets the horizontal, the form must be simplified in order to give a clear contrast of directions and thus insure stability. The intervals between limbs or bodies are as important as the positive form. The rhythm of a composition is based on a harmonious interchange of negative with positive elements, or intervals with matter.

Now begins the more advanced constructions in his grammar: The outline is the last stage in the presentation of a body. It is defined by the position and modeling of the body and not preconceived. Position (action) is based on anatomy and on compositional necessities. Modeling is brought out by color, aided by avoidance of any linearism. This three-dimensionality of color is achieved by luminosity and by heightening with lighter colors, but the highlight is always a part of the color substance and no accessory. In the same way shadow is not cast black but is a deeper tone in the original color substance of a form. No color has independent value: each color is determined in its character by the neighboring hues. Not because the sunshine melts them all together as was taught in the Impressionist doctrine, but because, as in a textile, the canvas or wall is a plane, and in planes all colors stand on the same surface and thus have all an equal importance. This maintenance of the surface unity is the decorative task of painting.

And now begins the highest, the most difficult problem of painting: No full realization is possible without the illusion of space.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the canvas or wall is a plane. Therefore three-dimensionality has to be achieved without destroying the plane. The illusionistic and the decorative effect have to be balanced. Color and line have a double function; they describe matter in space, but they are also ornaments on the plane.

13. Schuerer, Oskar, *Der Bildraum in den Spaeten Werken des Hans von Marées*, in *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, XXVIII, 2, 1934, pp. 175 ff.





FIG. 7—Munich, *Neue Staatsgalerie*: *The Hesperides*, by *Marées*



FIG. 8—*Wuppertal-Eberfeld, Museum*: *Drawing in Red Chalk*, by *Marées*



FIG. 9—*Lübeck, Behnhaus*: *Nude*, 1910, by *Lehmbruck*



FIG. 10—*Berlin, National Gallery*: *Bas-Relief*, 1888, by *Adolf Hildebrand*



FIG. 11—Left Panel, *St. Martin*



FIG. 12—Middle Panel, *St. Hubert*



FIG. 13—*The Charioteer*, 1887



FIG. 14—Right Panel, *St. George*

Munich, Neue Staatsgalerie: *The Three Saints*, Triptych in Oil, 1885-1887—and  
*The Charioteer*, Drawing in Red Chalk—by Hans von Marées

The arrangement of the figures, their modeling, and their outline are not only determined by themselves but also by their function in the recessed planes. Finally: the way the painting at last appears is not an approach to a preconceived idea of the picture, but the result of the unfolding of the formal relations during the procedure of the work. A picture does not exist for Marées before the last brushstroke is applied. In his own words (*Letters*, p. 106):

"Die Erscheinung muss, scheint mir, das letzte Resultat der künstlerischen Arbeit sein und bedingt werden durch die Gegenstände, die dargestellt werden. Ich bin überzeugt, dass alle wahrhaft befriedigenden Kunstwerke wie der Mensch aus dem Fötus entstanden sind; erst mit dem letzten Strich war die Erscheinung da."

What he blamed in Feuerbach and Böcklin, companions in the fight against Naturalism, was that they began with the "appearance." Knowing how to draw a human body, they were satisfied with having made it visible. So they created painted literature instead of realized form.

"Realization" for Marées thus means: the full use and the complete integration of all the means of painting and design into one wholeness and entity. Marées himself was perfectly aware of this. Already in 1880 he writes (*Letters*, p. 173):

"Wenn es auch unmöglich ist, dass ich selbst von meinen Leistungen befriedigt sein konnte, so weiss ich doch, dass sie einige Eigenschaften haben, die man vergebens bei anderen suchen dürfte. Vor allen dass dieselben ein zusammengehörendes Ganze repräsentieren und eine Basis bilden, auf der sich weiter bauen lässt."

It is Marées and Cézanne, who, independently of each other but in the same decade, established the canon of modern painting.<sup>14</sup>

These principles can be observed first in Marées' drawings.<sup>15</sup> Several hundred drawings, mainly in red chalk, give testimony of the analysis the artist made of the human form. Some of them depend directly on the model, others are translations from the model into another aspect. It was one of Marées' strict requirements that nature and especially the human body be understood so completely that one could translate either by heart from one view into another. Here again an analysis of the joints was a key to the understanding of all possible movements and attitudes. The mere facts were to be connected with their underlying system, visibility had to become notion. (For examples see Pidoll, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 11.)

A drawing like the one from the Kunsthalle in Bremen for the Hesperides, probably dating from about 1884, shows Marées' sense for the total and essential form of the human organism. As in the contour of a Greek vase, appearance balances idea. An invisible middle axis is there around which the concave and convex contour of the body swings. The head is approximately an oval, nose and mouth given in clear axial contrasts. Flesh and bone are to be felt, but anything unusual in illumination and action is avoided. Individual character and sex exist, but these are understood in relation to something more universal, the human creature in general.

In some of his most superior drawings, the temperament, the force of creation, usually subdued by Marées, runs away with the artist. We are reminded of some of Raphael's sketches of about the year 1510 when we look at the Charioteer, from the last year of

14. The expression "canon" in connection with Hans von Marées was first used by Konrad Fiedler, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

15. Meier-Gräfe, Julius, *Hans von Marées' Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1923.



Marées' life (Fig. 13). The swift movement of the racing horses finds its counterpart in the presto of the handwriting. The wheels move because the line moves. Circular forms in each detail create the conception of the arena. Master in the midst of turbulence, the charioteer stands free and sure. In him the lines grow into solid form, the contour is definite. The reins are drawn more lightly, and the horses still more so. Both spontaneity and self-control govern the drawing. There are only a few drawings in the nineteenth century which show a comparable superiority in form and spirit.

These features make it evident that the great creations of Marées' latest period are not the children of chance. His inspiration is a continuous one, not dependent on mood or external stimulation. There is for him only a slight difference between the act of painting and the one of incessant mental analysis of appearances. This is the meaning of Marées' phrase in a letter, "Ich bin mich klar, ich brauchte nichts zu tun, ich male nur der andern willen." (Quoted in Meier-Gräfe, *Marées*, I, p. 514.) Mood, exalted temperament are ever hostile to the desireless objectivity of creation. A man striving for a "canon" must endure the imperfections of changing mental conditions. Therefore the moving lamentation "dass er ein Mensch ist, das macht es ihm so schwer ein Künstler zu sein und doch ist das eine ohne das andre nicht möglich" (*Letters*, p. 211). This "Mensch sein" is the unavoidable individual fact, but his ambition reaches for the general and lawgiving aspect. "Kunst beschäftigt sich mit dem, was möglichst allen bekannt ist" (*Letters*, p. 120). He himself is only "eine Gelegenheit und weiter nichts" (*Letters*, p. 51). An objectivity which shows elements of monastic self-immolation. On the other hand, he states in connection with his last picture (*Letters*, p. 165): "Nur wer viel von der Natur weiss, kann gleichsam sinnliche Abstraktionen geben."

We are now prepared to look at these last "sensuous" abstractions. One is the group of the Hesperides, in Munich, Staatsgalerie, dating from 1884-1885; the other, the triptych of the Three Saints, of 1885-1887, also in the Staatsgalerie. I feel it to be an essential fact that Marées' last painted creations include Christian as well as pagan mythology. In addition to the mere "existence" of the pagan world, the Christian virtues of humility, charity, and the struggle for the ideal appear as fundamental symbols and widen the circle of the artist's definite experiences. Both paintings are impeded frescoes, using the triptych form. Having no wall space available, the artist had to accept canvas as a substitute for the solid chalked plane. This appears as an obstacle noticeable, for instance, in the Pompeiian red of the painted base of the Hesperides, where the warmth of the Roman color cries for white stucco ground.

The Hesperides (Fig. 7) as it appears today is the second version of a composition which goes back to the year 1873, taking definite shape in 1879 and finally being done over again in 1884. It was then that he began to use the triptych form in pictures, as in the Three Ages of Man, where he combined different ideal poses to bring out a plastically painted bas-relief in three movements. From the very beginning one convincing fact becomes apparent, that Marées' compositions although "sensuous abstractions" without a literary meaning yet reveal a meaningfulness beyond rational definition. Something that we experience with Cézanne's "still lifes," which are in reality much more than "nature morte," faces us in Marées' subject matter too. Although he reduces the complicated language of modern life to an arcadian simplicity, these primordial existences have absorbed all the artist's experience of the human creation. They are not anaemic, as Puvis de Chavannes' over-sensitive barbarians sometimes are; they are tactile in a spiritual sense as well as in a material one. It is hard to express this in words, since we are concerned here with the something which

differentiates art (as transformed life-experience) from mere decoration. The virility of Marées prevents him from being an idyllic escapist from time, the self-awareness and solidity of his artistic character prevent him from becoming "beautiful" in a merely external sense. But most of all his spirit, as in the case of Cézanne, uses appearances as a symbol of condensed existence. We do not admire Michelangelo's virtuosity in the treatment of the nude, we admire his "ignudi" as realizations of a concentrated and sublimated life-energy. Fundamentally it is the same with Marées.

Marées' striving for the absolute canon of existence finds its crown in the *Hesperides*. The painting does not appear any longer in the old frame in which it was presented for the first time at the Memorial Exhibition in 1906 in the National Gallery, Berlin. Greatly to its advantage it now has neutral zones separating the three wings from each other, the whole placed above a putto panel in Pompeiian red. The picture is painted in egg tempera and mastix, a heavy and gluelike paste which takes on every aspect from an impression of glowing jewelry to one of greasy soap. It is apparent that Marées wanted to get away from the thin oil film of the contemporary palette and to create a solid film with tactile values. Again Cézanne's plastic technique of the palette knife comes to mind, a technique created with this same intention of intensifying the reality of the picture. It is especially the strife for plasticity in Marées which makes him give roundness to the forms by means of layers of color instead of using tones of one color or lines to indicate the plastic form. As a result, in some parts of the picture the paint film is as much as a centimeter thick. Marées' success in the technique of painting lags behind his indefatigable efforts. The asphaltum black shows heavy cracks; the pigments, being too thick, partially reflect the light and endanger the blending of the colors to the human eye; and sometimes, as I mentioned before, the medium is too rich and soaplike. It is the problem of color, never that of design, which brings a feature of tragic imperfection into Marées' paintings. But this is the imperfection of a mind concerned with the highest and the most difficult, a mind hampered by the strange awkwardness of a hand which, as in the case of Cézanne, lacks any academic fluency. There have been many painters more clever in the manipulation of color than Marées or Cézanne, but cleverness has never been the true criterion of a work of art.

Marées' composition is of the simplest (Fig. 7). The central piece shows the three women before a glade of oranges in a timeless hour before a violet sky. Like El Greco and Cézanne (though Marées mentions neither in his letters), he elongates the figures in a strange distortion which seems the result of a spirituality striving for expression. It is a general observation that spiritually conceived art inclines toward elongated forms, sensuously conceived art toward short forms. It seems unnecessary therefore to think of a direct influence from El Greco, as we know it in the case of Cézanne.

The features are generalized in to mere indications of their functions in order to avoid individual and psychological expression, which would destroy the atmosphere of the absolute. The strict contrasts between horizontal and vertical are maintained in these "architectonic" faces. The posing offers such an intensity of demonstration that we seem to understand for the first time what standing, bending, and holding mean. Foreshortened forms are reduced to a minimum and are usually presented in rectangular contrasts. This absence of irregular lines brings out the intervals between forms as distinct geometrical patterns which may be compared with the "pauses" in music. The relationship between the plastic concave and convex forms and their final definition by the contour is as intense and altogether simple as in some of the Greek bas-reliefs of the fifth century. The color is unique in its scheme as well as in its adaptation. All naturalistic likeness has been re-

nounced for the sake of a jewel-like preciousness and glowing warmth. The nude figures present themselves as green, the hair and the oranges golden, the sky violet. In many places the color is applied in thick layers transforming the canvas plane almost into a bas-relief. In general the color emphasizes the feeling of an elevated remoteness and haughty exaltation.

The wings of the triptych give the masculine note: more action, more differentiation, depicting male nudes from childhood to still vigorous old age. The mysterious and indefinable quality of the center picture has given way to a more naturalistic and moderate characterization emphasizing by contrast the visionary atmosphere of the middle panel. In the wings action leads to curves, in the center the "Urworte" of mere existence are spoken. Thus the "Hesperides" are a paraphrase of the artist's dream of absolute, indestructible perfection.

In comparison with the Hesperides, the Three Saints (Figs. 11, 12, and 14) offers a romantic solution. I intentionally use the word "romantic" instead of "Christian," since no word in the letters of the artist nor any other subject matter used by him points to any concern with the Christian problem. It is really the ideal of knighthood more than that of Christianity which expresses itself in this second triptych. In this case we can trace the emotional origin of the artist's conception. In the National Gallery in Berlin hangs a small panel with a representation of the dragon-killing knight, a picture painted, as we learn from his letter to Fiedler of June 1880 (*Letters*, no. 147), as a self-release during the period of a temporary break with this only friend. He represents himself as the knight—the face has self-portrait features—fighting against the dragon, who may stand for the negative forces outside as well as the enemy in his own bosom. Marées romanticized his own life problem in the figure of the Christian hero. And now we meet St. George again, connected this time with Hubertus the pagan hunter who is converted by the apparition of the deer with the shining cross in its antlers, and with Martin, the Roman knight who gives away half of his mantle to the shivering beggar. Charity, humility, and Christian valor, embodied in these three noblemen, come from the dreamland of Marées' haughty virtue. There is something revealing in the fact that all three of them are riders. It is not only that Marées began as a cavalry painter; for him the horse was the noblest creation of nature except for the human figure. For a moment we remember that his brother was a Prussian officer. Something of the ideology of his aristocratic ancestry has crept into this triptych in a sublimated form.

Compared with the Hesperides the three panels here are less connected by means of design. The St. Martin panel is balanced more by means of the decorative arrangement of human figures, that of St. Hubert by color, mood, and meaning. Even the sizes of the figures are unequal. St. George and his horse fill nearly the whole space of their panel, while the other scenes give the human group as only a part of the landscape. However, this difference of treatment is not disturbing, since the spirit and the color scheme are identical in all three panels. Quite in contrast with the Hesperides this picture tempts one to begin its analysis with a description of the color. Looking at some others among Marées' latest creations such as the *Courting of Ganymede*, we observe that we are dealing with a general characteristic of his last years, which achieve again on a higher level the style of the *Diana* painting, a composition in color with avoidance of outspoken contours. This coloristic element goes hand in hand with the romantic medieval subject matter. The silent perfection of the three half-divine women has given way to the fuller and warmer tone of the romantic legend. This amazing but organic development places Marées above Puvis de Chavannes, whose noble art became more and more conventionalized and bloodless towards the end of his life. Hans von Marées dies in the full maturity of his genius.



Although painted with a real bravura, the St. George is perhaps the least convincing of the three panels (Fig. 14). The application of the colors in broad and relatively flat areas has something of the ingenious impromptu effect of the Diana painting, and the result is more decorative than painterly. The shying horse attracts one's interest to a higher degree than the vague, lovely young hero, whose fighting attitude is weakened by the fact that the dragon is a mere ornament. However, the triptych as a whole could hardly do without the fiery red and the shining silver of the knight, and the pale brown and white of the horse; the other two panels speak with subdued colors. In the middle part (Fig. 12), the center of interest (which is the dismounted hunter) is placed in a deeper plane than in the wings. The eye sinks down and repeats physically the attitude of humility. The curve of St. Hubert, emphasized in his golden horn, is enclosed within the rectangle formed by the two animals. The strange elongation of the white horse is due to its function as a part of this frame. Looking at the other two horses, we cannot doubt that Marées would have been able to draw a different type of horse if this were desirable. But everything here is based on the principle of slenderness and verticalism. This appears to be the most spiritual panel of the triptych, one which recalls El Greco. Indeed this white horse with its human expression of sympathy comes from a kindred world of the imagination. The color composition with green, white, brown, and some black, is completely new in Marées' palette. He has abandoned any external decorative contrasts and begins to work with an interwoven texture of melting tones. The colors are cool but strong in relation with each other. One could call it the step from a Veronese to a Tintoretto. It is a grand spectacle, this spiritualization of color. The climax is reached in the Martin scene (Fig. 11). Here the color film has become quite thin and less opaque than in the Hesperides. The composition is nearly primitive since the essential mood is expressed by the color. The thin white cover of snow is discolored by a dirty black, which creates a mood of hopeless cold. Everything brilliant or decorative has been abandoned. The red mantle, deepened by black, the golden helmet, and the soft woolen blanket of the rider form a striking color contrast which intensifies the mood. This color symbolism has similarity in character and scheme to that in Titian's late creations, and this happens not by an eclectic imitation but by a mature succession. I consider the Hubert and the Martin panels coloristically one of the profoundest creations of German painting. However, it is not our task to decide whether the Hesperides or the Three Saints is the greater creation. It is sufficient to understand that they mark the widest circle of Marées' artistic possibilities.

After the analysis of these two main realizations of his artistic ideal it is not necessary to speak about other late works, since the two triptychs contain the very essence of Marées' complete œuvre. Others done in the same period, such as the Courting in the National Gallery, Berlin, are more fragmentary; several which indicate the artist's occupation with the representation of action, for example, the Battle of the Amazons, the Rape of the Sabine Women, or Lot with his Daughters, were later destroyed through neglect.

At the end of his days the clairvoyance of Marées' ingenious mind breaks through the hard crust of his secluded nature. He sees that the time given to him to fulfill his creative message is waning. So he writes to Conrad Fiedler (*Letters*, p. 255):

"Auf mein persönliches Existieren habe ich wohl nie einen übermässigen Werth gelegt, und es wäre ein übles Zeichen, wenn ich mir jetzt das Zittern angewöhnen würde. Im Gegentheil, weil mich fast auf Schritt und Tritt edlere Geister umschweben, kann ich den Ereignissen, soweit sie mich betreffen, mit der grössten Heiterkeit entgegen sehen."

The last picture he paints is the Ganymede in the Staatgalerie, in Munich. With its deep jewel-like glow it is the swansong of his art: the gods call him back.

## II

The value of an artist is independent from his influence on his own period. Very often the leading names of one generation disappear completely for posterity and are replaced by the slow-working but indestructible vigor of a genius little known. I believe this is the case with Hans von Marées. From the historian's point of view he is a central figure for the understanding of modern art. It seems necessary therefore to register and analyze his influence in order to give him his right place in the history of the nineteenth century. I have defined in the introduction the two main currents of nineteenth century art as the Idealistic and the Naturalistic plus the strange intermediate situation of Romanticism. Marées' art has explained in how far he belonged among the representatives of the Idealistic current, and his letters reveal the underlying psychic element responsible for this affiliation. He declines the so-called "valuable" subject matter in opposition to the Romanticists (cf. *Letters*, p. 33); he detests the dependence on mere cleverness ("Geschicklichkeitserlebnis," cf. *Letters*, p. 168) and remains therefore in opposition to the French Impressionists (cf. *Letters*, p. 32). This is his critical differentiation from the others. He calls true art aristocratic (*Letters*, p. 168) because it is done for its own sake regardless of any applause, and in one of his profoundest formulations Marées describes the function of art as "the overcoming of chance." It is this belief in the existence of absolute standards and values which stamps him as a classical mind in such an anticlassical century. Friedrich Rintelen in his important article on the artist,<sup>16</sup> sees the tragic limitation of Marées in the very fact that he did not participate in the "creative spirit of the century," the naturalistic one, that he devoured his intensity in depressing opposition and isolation without sharing the creative happiness of the great naturalistic discoverers. His art seems to this writer disconnected from the trends of his period, it is not "lebensverknüpft" and has therefore "kein echtes Seinsgefühl." He compares Marées' situation with that of Nietzsche living in the icy loneliness of a sublime but unhappy mind. This article was written around 1909 when it was not yet fully apparent that the age of naturalism had come to its end. Both Conrad Fiedler, the friend and philosopher, and Friedrich Rintelen, one of the profoundest historians of art, themselves stood in philosophic opposition to the Positivism of their age, but it was too early for them to see that Marées' tendencies were not isolated; neither could they foresee that the pendulum would swing back and naturalism fall short in the immediate future. From our later point of view Marées belongs with Cézanne among the great "grammarians" in the world of forms, preparing the way for the modern analysis of form in art. Looking back and around us we discover how the small circle of his influence has widened and widened.

Before we discuss his effect on the creative side of art, it may be important to point out that his spoken word and his candid letters had a far-reaching result on modern esthetics. Konrad Fiedler himself states in his *Schriften über Kunst*<sup>17</sup> how much he owes to the spoken and painted analysis made by Hans von Marées. But it is perhaps rather an unknown fact that Heinrich Wölfflin, then a young student, walked among the small group of mourners which followed the bier of the deceased painter in Rome. Wölfflin's whole theory of visibility, his analysis of the Italian "Existenzbild," his emphasis on the "human plant"

16. Rintelen, Friedrich, *Hans von Marées*, in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, XX, pp. 173 ff.

17. Fiedler, Konrad, *Schriften über Kunst*, ed. by Hans

Marbach, Leipzig, 1896. Cf. also, Konnerth, Hermann, *Die Kunsttheorie Konrad Fiedlers*, Munich, 1909.

(menschliche Gewächs), on the life-dispensing energy of the well-understood joints, is based on the productive encounter with the figure of Hans von Marées. From Wölfflin's teaching and writing a stream of life and thought went into the appreciation and history of art. Formulations like "kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe," with their absolute and energetic belief in fundamental and basic laws, would have been impossible if the historian had not met with the "canon" idea of Marées. Or it is perhaps better to say that Wölfflin found in Marées one of the guarantees of his own conception of the function of art.

Adolf von Hildebrand, the greatest German sculptor of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, forms the bridge between the theoretical and the practical influence of Marées. His book, *Das Gesetz des Form*,<sup>18</sup> mirrors many elements of Marées' esthetics, and more important still, as the first helper of the painter in the Naples frescoes, he shows in his art from then on a deeply rooted understanding of the tendencies of his former friend. Hildebrand's maintenance of the relief planes, his use of the contour as a result of the movement of matter, the avoidance of any indefinite form from any angle whatsoever, the "closed form" (Wölfflin), the neutrality towards light and shadow, finally, the noble restraint of an originally vital and much more naïve talent: all this grew out of the clarifying and penetrating mind of his friend, with whom he lived between 1873 and 1877 before a tragic misunderstanding destroyed the friendship. It is especially the way in which standing and grasping are represented in Hildebrand's sculpture which goes back to the painter's analysis of the functions of the human body. This connection is exemplified in the "Autumn" from 1888, a bas-relief in the National Gallery in Berlin (Fig. 10). The right foot of the girl stands flat on the ground, as it does in Marées' paintings (cf. the middle panel of Fig. 7), emphasizing the middle axis, and the bent left leg starts out as a diagonal form from the knee of the other leg. Everywhere naturalistic exactness is subordinated to a classical substructure of fundamental laws. Fortunately Hildebrand's nature was vital enough to avoid any mannered Classicism. Not by chance it is a work of sculpture which I choose first to prove the influence of Marées on other artists. The first group of direct disciples, whom he gathered around him in Rome after 1874, were mainly sculptors. But a saying kindred to that of Donatello as quoted by Francisco D'Ollanda in his *Dialogues*, dominates Marées' students: "Pupils, I give you the whole art of sculpture when I tell you, draw."

It is therefore especially instructive to find among Marées' drawings a few which were done for his sculpture students. The sketch in red chalk of a Mercury (Fig. 8; Meier-Gräfe, no. 971), done in 1886-7 for the sculptor Ludwig Tuillon, artist of a famous riding Amazon and of several other noble equestrian monuments, shows kinship with Hildebrand's bas-relief. The indication of a vertical line through the leg, of a horizontal through the foot, and a diagonal crossing the calf of the leg points out to the friend what seemed essential to the canonic mind of Marées. On the same paper there is the view of the back, to which the side view from another drawing (Meier-Gräfe no. 974), done in red chalk, in the Museum of Wuppertal-Elberfeld, may well be added. Here we may observe what Marées was striving for. A human figure had to be enhanced by means of art to its most productive aspect. This means the moment when action has attained a maximum of distinctness in regard to volume, outline, and interrelationship of the different limbs. The arm resting on a pedestal, for instance, cannot be understood without having analyzed it first from its different angles. Only complete knowledge of the appearance of an attitude in its different possibilities can give its value to the final artistic representation.

18. Hildebrand, Adolf, *Das Gesetz der Form in der Bildenden Kunst*, Strassbourg, 1893.



Another and earlier example of a drawing for a sculptor is the red chalk sketch for a Bacchus (Fig. 6; Meier-Gräfe, no. 749), in Wuppertal-Elberfeld, done in 1883 for the marble statue of Arthur Volkmann, today in the Museum in Breslau.<sup>19</sup> We observe how the painter indicates the head by an oval abstraction, the trunk by a square, and how he makes a circular cut through the end of the upper arm. These didactic drawings are far from being academic. In the sensitive and sometimes corrected outline, in the hatchings, the spontaneity of an unprejudiced eye is maintained.

These few examples must be sufficient for an understanding of the direct influence of Marées on some of his sculptor friends, but the circle is growing and widening of those who have indirectly based their neo-classic efforts on this great didactic art. As direct students we have mentioned the painter Pidoll, the author of interesting studio notes on his master. We may add Hans Thoma the painter, the sculptors Peter Bruckmann, Arthur Volkmann, Ludwig Tuaillon, and, most important of all, Adolf von Hildebrand. They have in common the representation of mere existence, self-centered and strong in self-assured beauty. Their relationship with Greek art is not the mannered imitation of attitudes as we know it in Canova and his school, but an unsentimental research into the laws of statuary, which had nearly been lost in the age of Barye and Rodin. The danger of this neo-Greek conception can be seen in its lack of spontaneity and sometimes, in the students' works, of spirituality. A tendency for completeness of form prevailed even when the "idea" had not yet ripened. This marks the distinct difference between the imperfection of the master and the skilful perfection of the students, or in Marées' words (*Letters*, p. 47): "Wie ich es schon oft gesagt, es ist nur ein kleines Etwas, welches den Unterschied des Guten und Mittelmässigen ausmacht."

It is significant to observe that the next generation, born about 1880 and so decisive for the foundation of expressionistic art, was able to add this element of spirituality to Marées' canon, an element which his contemporaries of the age of naturalism were not able to conceive. The Museum in Winterthur owns an early work by Karl Hofer, *The Two Nudes by the Sea*, which may surprise those who know only the work of his later periods. Looking at the composition and outline, we notice that his form is Italian born.<sup>20</sup> There is still an element of idealistic balance and harmony in his later shrill, melancholy composition which reveals itself as a nostalgia for the lost land of beauty. He was about to enter this land under the aegis of Hans von Marées when the problematic character of his time, to explain which became his self-chosen mission, urged him away from the direct succession of Marées' art. The quiet "Existenzbild," of 1906 proves the devoted study he had previously made of Marées, in the distinctness and plasticity of form and contour and in the detached introversion of the pose.

Kindred in form and spirit, the greatest which Marées' succession has found in art, is Wilhelm Lehmbruck's *Standing Nude* (life size) dating from 1910, in the Behnhaus, Lübeck (Fig. 9). Lehmbruck, like Hofer, followed the general trend of the period and later abandoned ideal form which he felt was too easily acquired. As with Despiau, his earliest art is of a noble simplicity which breathes the atmosphere of Greece. This statue is closely suggestive of its visible existence, as are matter and form in the sense Marées understood them. But fullest visibility, distinct appearance, is the final result of a long preparation. Vessel-like, the female shape rises in a perfect contour. The spiritual flower of this human plant, the head, is slightly bent in thoughtful meditation. Without any overlapping

19. Reproduced in Wasiliewski, W. von, *Arthur Volkmann*, Munich, 1908.

20. Hofer went to Rome in 1903.

the form is perfectly closed, but softened by the two-fold diagonal of the waist and the contrapostic upper edge of the garment. The forms of the body are normal and healthy and, as in Marées, without sex emphasis. Like Greek sculpture of the Golden Age the figure is neutral towards the onlooker and passive towards space and light modeling. In pose completely relaxed, the whole body announces what the face seems to indicate: blessedness. Here is realized once more the testament of Marées, the last of the king's evidence of the "classical" current in Europe.

By Marées' art it is proved that a "classical" and normative art has not necessarily to become a Classicism and Mannerism. It is his great function in the history of the nineteenth century to connect normative thinking again with nature. Varying Goethe's sentence "Jeder sei auf seine Weise ein Grieche, aber er sei's," Marées once wrote to Conrad Fiedler: "In uns selbst liegt Italien" (*Letters*, p. 58). I believe that as soon as the clouds divide and our present formalism in art rediscovers nature, Marées' work will rise in full visibility like a clear, strong range of mountains.

# THE INSCRIPTION ON THE ST. LOUIS STELE OF 505 A.D.\*

TRANSLATED BY HSÜ HSIEN-YÜ. EDITED BY THOMAS T. HOOPES.

大魏正始三年十月庚辰朔吉亥寅司州  
汲郡汲縣崇儀鄉白善劉東大  
尚村舍已儀唯船尚奇人等造就  
昔唯如來玄神流泊宿津於寶谷  
颶馳九浪志超之重開陵立而高  
陷玄身潛影芳音高鄉高連  
需重暈朗妙曜境慈慈慈化於  
驚倍哀八難之酸楚之大慈奄而優  
曜真容更而優新慈靈神於其  
觀觀三法於六沉道明倍於未覺  
開信向於真愚顯光融於累劫迷  
六明之燭就不善之趣是以諸色儀  
尚奇等頌需根除隆信心淵悞  
奇等以去太和三年於龍剛五家  
之珍造塔洋面區五級玉像區文  
二尺今得成就使機漏開昏於愚倍  
波掃除百惡之樊絕世倍之惠趣五  
德道崇於三寶開天人之徑路託航華  
之化生栖志於妙門增三光以警軍向  
菩提而假教是以奇等上軌魏國祀  
隆後軌奇等淨土生天  
唯船尚仲起開  
佛光明為父記之  
扶那尚  
扶石  
馬甯子施傳

UNDER the great Wei Dynasty,<sup>1</sup> in the second year of Tseng-Shih,<sup>2</sup> the eleventh month, of which the first day is the day Wu-Ch'en,<sup>3</sup> on the eleventh day which is the day Wu-Hsing,<sup>4</sup> this monument was built and erected by eighty persons including citizens, the Karmadana,<sup>5</sup> Shang-Ch'i and others of East Great Shang precinct, P'ai-Ts'ai ward,<sup>6</sup> Tsung-Ni district, Chi City, Chi County, Ssu State.

The ancient Buddha Ju-Lai,<sup>7</sup> whose marvelous spirit was all-pervading, reached the end of his mortal existence<sup>8</sup> at the top of a pagoda, but his spirit has ever since been progressing in ever-radiating waves.<sup>9</sup> His ambition transcended the wish for earthly power,<sup>10</sup> his purity the desire for fleshly lusts.<sup>11</sup> Although he shut himself away, even from his own shadow, yet his inspiring voice sonorously reverberated, and the brightness of his transfigured soul<sup>12</sup> illuminated the remote places with profound splendor. But<sup>13</sup> his charity and compassion remained and diffused themselves among the common people. He lamented the pain and suffering of mortals subject to the eight limitations,<sup>14</sup> and his great love emerged from the obscurity with renewed brightness while, freed from change, his true countenance re-appeared.

He bestowed supernatural inspiration upon the vast multitude of living beings,<sup>15,16</sup> propagated the three vehicles<sup>17</sup> among those sunk in the six earthly enjoyments.<sup>18</sup> He drew forth the common folk from their unconsciousness, opened the road to faith in the hearts of the ignorant, and illuminated with beams of hope the slaves of calamity.

But those who persist in fluttering about the six burning candles<sup>19</sup> must suffer the melancholy consequences. So, therefore, we, the civilians, Shang-Ch'i and the others, culti-

\* In the *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* for July, 1937, was published an account of a Chinese stele of the Northern Wei Dynasty dated 505 A.D. This stele represents a Buddhist trinity of three standing figures in high relief (Fig. 1). The back (Fig. 2) is carved in low relief with the figure of Maitreya, and a condensed version of the "thousand Buddha" motive, below which appears a long inscription,

followed by conventionalized portraits and names of the eighty contributors to the erection of the stele.

The inscription a reproduction of which appears on this page is here translated, with notes explanatory of the literary allusions and with indications of the modern characters probably equivalent to such ideographs as are of uncertain meaning.





FIG. 1—*St. Louis, City Art Museum: Chinese Buddhistic Stele, 505 A.D., Northern Wei Dynasty; Front View*



FIG. 2—Back View of Stele Shown in Fig. 1

vated in ourselves the roots<sup>20</sup> of virtue, deepened our pious faith, and apprehended the Law with our whole hearts.

In the past thirteenth year of Tai-Ho,<sup>21</sup> we, Ch'i and the rest, had made a vow to have inscribed the precious teachings of the five schools,<sup>22</sup> to establish a five-story pagoda<sup>23</sup> of bricks, and to make a jade<sup>24</sup> image twelve feet<sup>25</sup> tall. These are now completely achieved. May they, like tremendous waves, sweep away the sinful imperfections<sup>26</sup> and the closed-mindedness of the unenlightened populace,<sup>27</sup> and the hundreds of temptations which encompass them, until they have absolutely eradicated evil from the world.

We know that the five virtuous actions<sup>28</sup> derive from the three precious jewels<sup>29</sup> which open the grand road<sup>30</sup> between heaven and mankind. We believe in the spontaneous generation [of Maitreya]<sup>31,32</sup> beneath the dragon-flower tree, and we place our trust in the mystic gateway.<sup>33</sup> We observe the shining of the three luminaries,<sup>34</sup> and facing the Bodhi tree we cease instantaneously<sup>35</sup> from evil.

Finally we, Ch'i and the rest, wish<sup>36</sup> in the first place for the well-being of the kingdom of Wei, and in the second, that we may elevate ourselves to the heaven of the pure land.<sup>37</sup>

Karmadana Shang Ts'ung-Chih opened the eyes of the Buddha<sup>38</sup> and recorded this for his father. Karmadana Shang donated the stone; Ma Hu-Tze donated the bricks.

#### NOTES

Numbers in parentheses refer to Chinese characters on pages 317, 318.

1. The dating of this stele presents a curious coincidence in Chinese chronology. The iconography, the technique of the carving and the style of the inscription all point to a date in the late fifth or early sixth century but curiously enough there were two Wei (1) Dynasties, one extending from 220 to 264, the other from 386 to 532. Each of these dynasties had a year period called Tseng-Shih (2) (cf. note 2) and each of them had a year period Tai-Ho (3) (cf. note 21). Thus it would be entirely correct to read the two dates on our stele as 505 and 489 or as 241 and 239 A.D., respectively. The fact that the Tai-Ho period of the earlier Wei Dynasty only lasted for seven years is not proof that a date might not be given, as later on in this inscription, "Tai-Ho 13th year" (cf. note 21) especially if the Tai-Ho era were remembered by some early historical event while the succeeding short periods had relatively unimportant mnemonic features.

2. Tseng-Shih (2). Chinese chronology is usually stated in terms of, first, the dynasty, second, the reign or chronological period. Such a chronological unit is this of Tseng-Shih. A better known example would be that of Ch'ien-Lung (4) in the Ch'ing Dynasty. This is the chronological title (nien-hao) (5) corresponding to the emperor whose dynastic title (miao-hao) (6) was Kao-Tsung-Shun (7). Note, however, that sometimes there might be several nien-hao corresponding to the reign of a single emperor and in the case of the date on this stele the period Tseng-Shih is the second (504-508) of

four in the reign of the emperor whose dynastic title (miao-hao) was Suan-Wu-Ti (8) (500-516). If the earlier date above referred to is taken for the Tseng-Shih period it is the first (240-249) of two periods in the reign of the Emperor Fei-Ti (9) (240-254).

3. Minor divisions of time in the Chinese chronology are determined by a mathematical combination of "ten elemental stems" (the ten stems are made up of the "elder brother" and "younger brother" of the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire and earth) and twelve signs of the zodiac, permitting sixty possible combinations of one character from each group (cf. Koop and Inada, *Japanese Names*; Rucker, R. H., *Notes on Japanese Chronology*; Satow, *Japanese Chronological Tables*, etc.). Wu-Ch'en (10) represents the day of the dragon of the stem of the elder brother of earth.

4. Wu-Hsing (11) is the date of the tiger of the elder brother of earth. In the preliminary publication in the *Bulletin of the City Art Museum*, XXII, 3, p. 33 this date was mistakenly given as the second day of the second month.

5. Karmadana (12), a Sanscrit title applied by Chinese Buddhists to the vice-abbot of a Buddhist monastery.

6. The location of houses by house numbers and street names as in the Occident is of very recent and still limited use in the Orient. The old and still widely used custom is by the subdivision of cities into districts, wards, and precincts, the individual houses being numbered in the order of their construction in their precincts. Thus house No. 1 might be next to



house No. 248; the only way to locate a given dwelling is to inquire of the local policeman or to look for the precinct map which (at least in Japan) is often posted on a sign board at the principal entrance to each precinct.

7. Ju-Lai (13), Sanscrit, Tathagata, the highest epithet of a Buddha, here presumably used as a synonym for Sakyamuni.

8. In spite of popular references to "the death of Buddha" Buddhist doctrine does not recognize any true death for Sakyamuni but claims that having "reached the end of his mortal existence" he abandoned his earthly body (not, by the way, at the top of a pagoda, but in a grove) and was translated to Heaven where he still exists. (14) is equivalent to (15), and (16) to (17).

9. Literally "nine waves;" nine is the largest single digit and hence, here, its meaning is "innumerable" or "constantly increasing."

10. Literally "the desire for twelve strong fortifications," that is to say, the wish for a life of royal splendor and might. (18) is equivalent to (19).

11. (20) A typically abstruse Chinese literary allusion. The characters in the text are not to be read 25, as one might think, but are to be taken as an abbreviation of (21), the "husbandry of the two number fives." This assumes that the reader is conversant with Tso Kiu-Ming's commentary (22) on the Annals of Confucius (23) a well-known historico-philosophical treatise. In that work it says: "The people of Tsin (Shansi) call this 'the husbandry of the two number fives'" (25) and tells the story of the Lord Hsien of Tsin (Shansi) (24) who had two beautiful concubines named respectively Liang the Fifth (26) and Tung-Kwan the Fifth (27). These are the "two number fives." The two charming ladies, who between them quite dominated their lord, worked like two farmers tilling adjacent fields, constantly stirring up mischief, and causing untold evils to their country. Thus the "husbandry of the two fives" means a life so devoted to concupiscence that the responsibilities of government are completely neglected. In our inscription it is stated that the Buddha was superior to this temptation, i.e., his conception of duty would not be lowered even by female charms as great as those of the "two number fives."

12. (28) is equivalent to (29).

13. "but . . ." that is to say, after the departure of life from this mortal body.

14. Sanscrit, Asta Aksana, "the eight unfavorable conditions under which it is impossible to secure salvation." They are enumerated as follows in a passage of the Mahavyutpatti (Section 120): "... Narakah, the Hells; Tiryancah, the animals; Pretah, the hungry de-

mons; Dirghayuso devah, the long-lived gods; Pratyantajanapadam, the neighboring countries; Indriyavaikalyam, incomplete functioning of the senses; Mithyadarcanam, false point of view; Tathagatanam anutpadah, absence of Buddha." Cf. Chavannes, *Six Monuments*, p. 23, note 8.

15. Here we have a succession of categories proceeding from the general to the limited: (a) "all living beings;" (b) "those sunk in the six earthly enjoyments," i.e., human beings as distinct from other living creatures, (c) the "common folk" as a portion of human kind; (d) the "ignorant" part of the common people; (e) "the slaves of calamity," i.e. that group of the most unfortunate of the common people who because of their sins in former existences are always in trouble of some sort or other in this one.

16. (30) is equivalent to (31).

17. (32) The three laws or doctrines of Buddhism, i.e.: (a) (33) "The Wheel of the Law," i.e., the Doctrine of Metempsychosis. (b) (34) The Doctrine of Karma. (c) (35) The Doctrine of Nirvana. Cf. in *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, XXII, 3, p. 26.

18. (36) lit. the "six sunken," i. e., those sunken in the enjoyment of the six physical senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, perception. (Cf. Meyer, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 342.)

19. The "six burning candles" or the six earthly enjoyments already referred to.

20. (37) "Roots" of virtue: the six perceptive operations of the senses, cf. note 18.

21. Cf. note 1. Tai-Ho (3) in the Northern Wei Dynasty is the third nien-hao (477-500) of the Emperor Hsiao-Wen-Ti (38) (471-500); in the earlier Wei Dynasty it is the first nien-hao of the Emperor Ming-Ti (39) (227-240). Although it lasted only from 227 to 233 it is quite possible that the later nien-hao of the same reign might be disregarded and the date Tai-Ho 13 (A.D. 239) would then be the same as the more correct King-Ch'u 3 (40).

22. The five schools (41) of Buddhism:

(a) The Hinayana School, based on the Samyuktasantchayu (same as Samyuktasantas) sutra (42).

(b) The Madhyamayana School, based on the Pradjanaparamita sutra (43).

(c) The "Lotus" School, based on the Saddharmapundarika sutra (44).

(d) The Tantric School, based on the Suvarahprabhasa sutra (45).

(e) The Nirvana School, based on the Parinirvana sutra (46).

Schools (c), (d), and (e) are considered as subdivisions of Mahayana Buddhism.

23. (47) is equivalent to (48).

魏 正始 太和 乾隆

年號 廟號 高宗純

宣武帝 廢帝 戊辰 戊寅

維那如來 寔顛 荅 塔

開 關 二五 二五 耦

左傳 春秋 晉獻公

晉人謂之二五耦 梁五

東關五 遷靈 遷靈 集

荒 三法 法輪 業報

涅槃 六沉 靈根

孝文帝<sub>38</sub> 明帝<sub>39</sub>景初<sub>40</sub>三年

五家<sub>41</sub> 雜阿含經<sub>42</sub>

大品<sub>43</sub>般若經

妙法蓮華經<sub>44</sub>金光明經<sub>45</sub>

方等般泥洹經<sub>46</sub> 畜圖<sub>47</sub> 圖<sub>48</sub>

一丈二尺<sub>49</sub> 惠<sub>50</sub> 惡<sub>51</sub> 俗<sub>52</sub> 俗<sub>53</sub>

五德<sub>54</sub> 五行<sub>55</sub> 三寶<sub>56</sub> 徑<sub>57</sub> 丕<sub>58</sub>

龍華<sub>59</sub> 化生<sub>60</sub> 妙門<sub>61</sub> 三光<sub>62</sub>

假<sub>63</sub> 攸<sub>64</sub> 願<sub>65</sub> 願<sub>66</sub> 頌<sub>67</sub> 頌<sub>68</sub>

淨土<sub>69</sub> 阿彌陀佛<sub>70</sub>



24. Here used in the figurative sense of "precious." The stele is not, of course, of jade, but is of black stone resembling marble.

25. Literally "one tsan two ch'ih" (49). The *tsan* is a unit of measurement equal to ten *ch'ih* or Chinese feet. The latter unit is known to have varied greatly in different parts of China and at different periods. The present stele, even with a pedestal and the now missing top, could hardly have been more than eight or nine English feet in height.

26. (50) is equivalent to (51).

27. (52) is equivalent to (53).

28. The five virtuous actions (54) pertaining to the nature of the five elements (55) (Chinese style): metal, wood, water, fire, and earth.

29. The three precious jewels (56) (Sansk., Triratna) consisting of Buddha (The Savior), Dharma (The Law), Sangha (The religious community). It is possible that the three figures of the stele are intended to personify this Trinity.

30. (57) is equivalent to (58).

31. It is believed that Maitreya, the Buddha of the future (cf. in *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, XXII, 3, p. 33) will spontaneously appear under a dragon-flower tree (59) (Sansk., Nagapuspa) just as Buddha was evolved from prince Siddhartha beneath the Bodhi tree (*ficus religiosa*, peepul).

Maitreya ("he whose name is charity") is often also called Aditja, and forms a principal figure in the retinue of Sakyamuni, though not as an historic disciple. It is written that Tuchita (cf. note 32) Sakyamuni appointed Maitreya as his successor after five thousand years. In the meantime, while awaiting his spontaneous appearance on this Earth, Maitreya remains in Heaven and controls the propagation of the faith.

32. (60) Sansc., Anupapadaka. Supernatural spontaneous birth, as from a lotus-flower; the means by which Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are enabled to come from Tuchita, the place of assembly of dieties waiting-to-be-born, and to appear upon Earth.

33. (61) really a Taoist conception, referring to the portal which divides normal human life from the life of the supernatural.

34. (62) the sun, the moon, the stars.

35. (63) is equivalent to (64).

36. (65) is equivalent to (66) and (67) is equivalent to (68).

37. (69) The "Heaven of the Pure Land," also called "The Paradise in the West" is presided over by Amida Buddha (O mi t'o Fo) (70)

38. This refers to the ceremony of dedication at which the pupils of the eyes would be painted in, after which the image was supposed to contain the spirit of the deity represented.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*La tintura delle rose* (the Sacred and Profane Love) by Titian.

BY WALTER FRIEDLAENDER

Roses were white originally. They became red from the blood of Venus. This happened when Venus ran to help her lover Adonis (killed by the boar sent by Mars or Diana; or possibly it is Mars himself disguised as a boar).<sup>1</sup> Vincenzo Cartari<sup>2</sup> gives the story in more detail. Here it is plainly the jealous Mars ("diventato geloso") who will kill Adonis. The goddess runs to assist her "amato Adone." She steps on the "acute spine delle bianche rose" is "gravamente punta" and the blood trickling from the wounds gives henceforth the red rose its color.

Another version—for us especially important—is given by the author of the famous and most curious "archeological romance": the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published in 1499 in Venice. Adonis is not killed by the jealous ("zelotypo") Mars, but only flogged ("verberato"). Venus—the "Sancta Venere," "cum vultuosa facia et indignata e cum angore d'animo," runs naked out of the bath to help him and is pricked on the calf of her leg (on her "divina sura") by the thorns of the roses.<sup>3</sup> This "istorietta" is "perfectamente insculpta" on the sarcophagus serving as a tomb for Adonis. We see on the woodcut (Fig. 1), on the right side of the inscription "Adonia" (inscribed in a circle), a man with a stick beating another man who raises his arm to ward off the blow. On the other side of the circle one sees Venus, naked and with loosened hair, hastily leaving a hexagonal water basin and stepping with her left foot on a rosebush. In the background are two nude figures (are they two nymphs or perhaps Venus warning Adonis?) in conversation.

It is not known, or perhaps not known enough, that Titian in the most famous work of his youth, the so-called Sacred and Profane Love, used the literary content of this Adonis "istorietta" as given in Poliphilo and gave the rather awkwardly drawn representation in the woodcut a new form. In the painting by Titian this incident appears on the part of the sculptured sarcophagus just below the nude figure and to the right of the central rosebush (Fig. 4). One sees a naked boy not much bigger than Cupid—but it is undoubtedly Adonis—stretched out on the ground. A vigorous man—Mars—bending over him, holds him with his right hand and swings a scourge in his left. Somewhat in the background is a naked woman raising her arms—probably a nymph. Or is she Venus? But Venus could just as well be the figure (not clearly visible because of the shadow) running to the aid of Adonis from the right side, corresponding, even formally, to the Venus on the Poliphilo woodcut.<sup>4</sup>

In any case, it is the jealous Mars who wants to chastise

his young rival Adonis and the connection with the Poliphilo "istorietta" is beyond any doubt. If that is settled once for all, then we must consider the possibility, that the source for the so much discussed<sup>5</sup> iconography of Titian's painting, as a whole as well as in details, is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.<sup>6</sup>

This romance is filled to absurdity with humanistic learning, hieroglyphs, and architectural description. Its nucleus, the love story of Polia and Poliphilus, has not been used in the interpretation of Titian's composition. The theme in itself is rather banal: the conversion of a coy or apparently frigid girl to life and love. Polia, recovering from the plague, has made the vow of chastity. She does not retire into a convent, however, but serves in the temple of the chaste and severe goddess Diana—there is a curious mixture in the *Hypnerotomachia* of Christian and antique-humanistic conceptions. Poliphilo, a friend of her youth, who loves Polia desperately, finally traces her. But Polia who has now acquired a hatred for the whole male sex refuses his importunings with a rude indifference. Poliphilo follows her to the altar of the temple and there, in the utmost despair of her frigidity, sinks down to her feet apparently dead. But even then Polia remains unmoved. She pulls the body of her unhappy lover away from the altar by the legs and into some remote corner of the temple. On her way home Polia, who now begins to feel some remorse, is lifted up by a storm and carried through the air into a wild forest. Hidden behind some trees she sees a carriage approaching; to its glowing shafts are attached instead of horses two naked girls, lashed by a beautiful young man. The carriage stops and poor Polia, trembling lest she be discovered in her hiding place, has to look at the cruel spectacle of these girls cut into four pieces with sword by the young man (Cupid). A new storm carries the frightened Polia back to her house and into her bed which she shares with her old nurse. As a kind of continuation of this forest-phantasy she has a dream: "Full of temerity" there enter her room "with light and quick steps" ("cum concitato et celere grado") two horrible men ("horribili carnefici")—with swollen mouths, vulgar expressions, rough movements, etc. They address her with a terrible voice: "come, come silly girl, who resists and neglects your own pleasure. Now comes the punishment which you have deserved, cruel one." They pull her by her blond hair "senza alcuna clementia" and Polia crying "o me, o me" tries with her arms to free her hair and to stop the pain as far as possible. Whereupon she awakes and tells her nurse all that happened. The nurse tries to console her and encourages her to abandon her coolness. Polia makes up her mind to leave the service of Diana. She meets again Poliphilo whom she had thought dead and they escape with great difficulty

ment of Adonis by Mars, based on the story and the woodcut in the *Hypnerotomachia*. He goes further and pretends that Titian in making the composition of the Sacred and Profane Love must have had some "souvenir de cette fontaine d'amour" and of what happened there, but he denies the possibility that Titian intended to illustrate "le songe de Poliphile." Finally Hourticq confuses the whole problem by bringing in the old anecdote of a love affair between Titian and Palma Vecchio's beautiful daughter Violante. That may be the reason why nobody, as far as I know, has paid attention to the interpretation of Hourticq and its elements of truth not even Panofsky (loc. cit.) who devoted himself with so great minuteness and sagacity to the interpretations of Titian's work. Only Tietze (*Titian*, 1937, p. 91 f.) mentions Hourticq's hypothesis rather approvingly, but mixes it up with the type theory of Panofsky and comes to no conclusion.

1. Roscher, *Myth. Lexicon*, under *Adonis*, p. 72; Rose, H. J., *Greek Mythology*, 1929, p. 125.

2. *Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi*, Lione, 1581, p. 449.

3. *Hypn.*, Z, VI b, and woodcut Z, VII a.

4. Petersen, E., *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XVII, 1906, believes this figure on the left is a male who fixes a pole to which the culprit is later to be bound. But this pole could just as easily be a tree.

5. Cf. for the bibliography of the different interpretations Gerstfeld, O. von., in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, III, 1910, p. 365, and the additions in Panofsky, E., *Herkules am Scheidewege*, Leipzig, 1931, p. 173 f.

6. It is the indisputable merit of L. Hourticq (*la Jeunesse de Titien*, Paris, 1919, p. 127 f.) to have interpreted—almost twenty years ago—the relief on the sarcophagus as the punish-

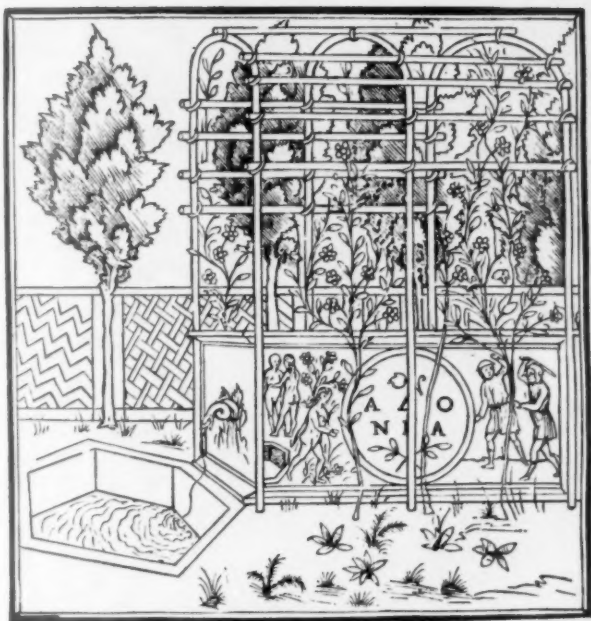
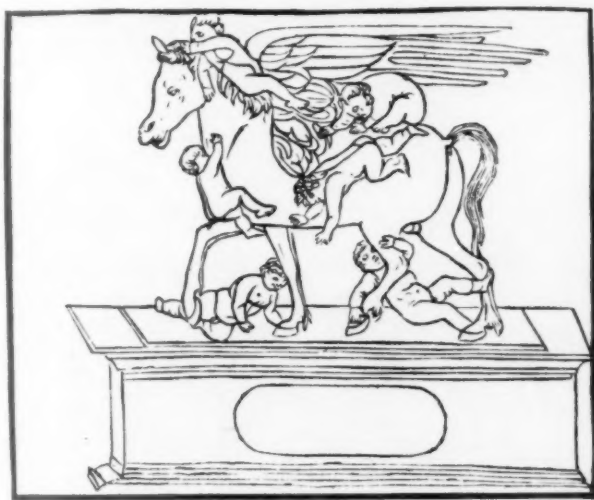


FIG. 1—*Tomb of Adonis and his Punishment*  
Woodcut from the *Hypnerotomachia*



Nella

FIG. 2—*The Horse of Mischief*, Woodcut  
from the *Hypnerotomachia*



FIG. 3—*Rome, Borghese: Polia and Venus*  
(*La Tintura delle Rose*), by Titian

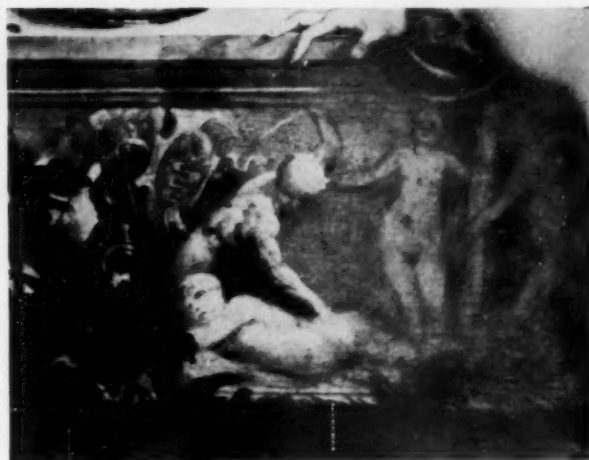


FIG. 4—*The Punishment of Adonis*  
Detail of Fig. 3

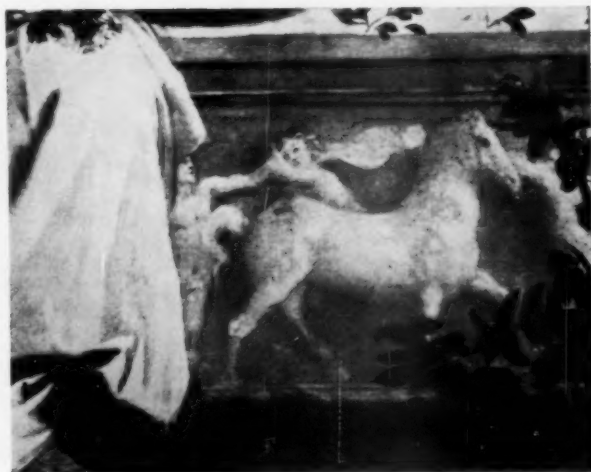


FIG. 5—*The Dream of Polia*  
Detail of Fig. 3





FIG. 1—Turin, Palazzo Madonna: Crucifixion, Flemish Alabaster

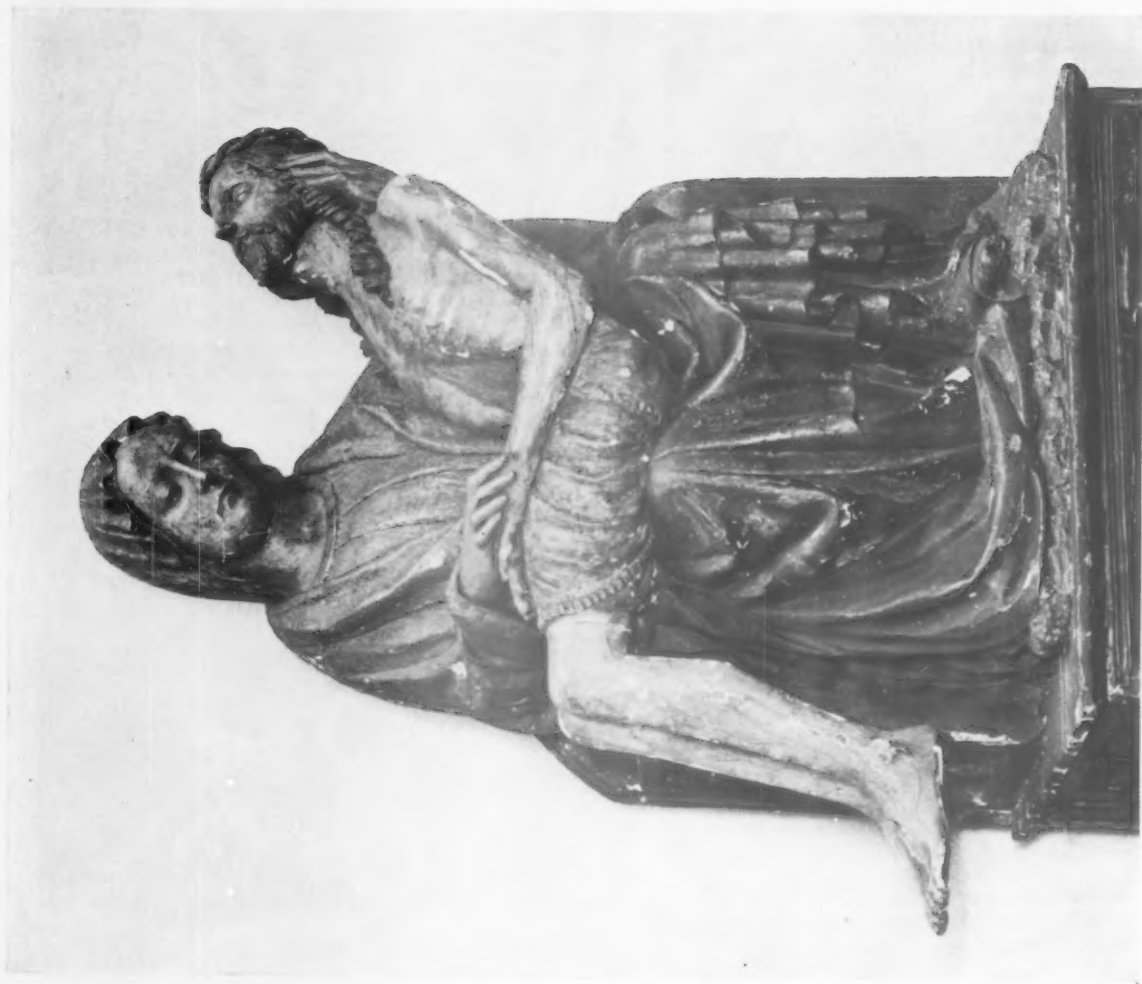


FIG. 2—Detroit, Institute of Arts: Pietà, Marble, Italian (?)

from the temple of Diana, the foe of love. They find protection in the kingdom of Venus and finally are united with many elaborate ceremonies under the special patronage of Venus. After all has been finished Venus gives the young couple an escort of eight nymphs who lead them to the most intimate sanctuary of the goddess, a kind of "bosco sacro," full of roses—roses are from of old sacred to Venus.<sup>7</sup> Here they admire a marble sarcophagus adorned with reliefs, containing not only the ashes of Adonis but also water or some fluid. There is on the narrow side a spout in the form of a golden serpent, from which water falls into the hexagonal basin. This is the very place, where Venus running to help Adonis (as represented on the relief mentioned above) was pricked by the thorns of the (white) roses and where Cupid caught the "purpurissimo sangue" of his mother in an oyster shell ("cortice d'Ostrea"). Here, so relate the nymphs, once a year on the day of the death of Adonis, Venus comes out naked from the basin and here, in the company of her son, she effects the mystery of the *tintura delle rose*, the transformation of the white roses into red ones by her own blood. It is a kind of symbolic transubstantiation. Here, too, pagan and Christian ideas are mixed: the mystery of love, symbolized by the white and red roses, enacted through the infusion of the Divine blood. After having finished their story the nymphs address the young bride Polia, who has meanwhile gathered flowers for a wreath for Poliphilo: "Please sit down and tell us your story how you, who always despised love, have been won for love."

The relation of the so-called Sacred and Profane Love by Titian to the *Hypnerotomachia* is not merely based on a vague "souvenir." The whole content and the whole idea of the painting have been drawn from this romance, which, throughout the first decades of the Cinquecento, was still a quite modern and fresh literary event. The young Titian must have been in more or less close relation with the illustrators of the novel, since he himself in his early period was active in making woodcuts. It may be presumed that also the Venetian chancellor, Niccolò Aurelio, who supposedly ordered the painting (because we find his coat of arms in the center of the sarcophagus relief, almost hidden by the rosebush) was well acquainted with the content of the *Hypnerotomachia*. For him, as for every other contemporary reader of the novel, the meaning of Titian's painting must have been easy to understand as a kind of *résumé* of the romance.

The Adonis relief on the right hand side of the sarcophagus (Figs. 3 and 4) permits no doubt that the female figure seated above is Venus, or to use the naive expression of Poliphilo, the "Sancta Venere." Thus, the famous title Sacred and Profane Love, which appeared for the first time about two hundred years later, has a certain truth. But there is no real opposition between the two figures other than the external one between a clothed and a naked

beauty "beltà ornata e beltà disornata," as the painting was called in the first written record we have of it (1613). There is not a higher spiritual *amore* contrasted with a lower, unchaste one, no contrast of type. There is not a pale, didactic, neo-platonic allegory, but it is Venus herself, the goddess, who, coming naked from the bath in the basin, is sitting on one edge of the sarcophagus, the tomb of Adonis. She ritualistically raises the incense bowl<sup>8</sup> and supervises the mystery of the *tintura delle rose*.

The figure sitting on the other side of the sarcophagus (somewhat lower) can only be Polia, Venus' newest adept (Fig. 3). Her whole appearance follows the text of the novel—the rich clothing, the loosened hair with the wreath and the flowers (*sparsi fiori*) in her hand.<sup>9</sup> She is represented as if in the very moment when she is asked by the nymphs to tell her story.

The relief of the sarcophagus beneath Polia (Fig. 5) must refer to her or to her story in the same way as the punishment of Adonis on the other side to Venus. Though the interpretation of this composition offers some difficulties, nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence that the content pertains to the story of Polia. We may recall here the dream of Polia, how two wild men—executioners—mercilessly pull her hair and how she wrests with her arms to allay the pain. On the sarcophagus relief we see, half hidden by the heavy folds of Polia's gown, a man who violently pulls by the hair what is probably a female child; she tries to resist (as in the story) and seems about to cry. This little figure must represent either Polia ("pacia fanciulla" the men call her) or her symbolic equivalent, the genius of frigidity, a kind of Anteros.<sup>10</sup> On the other side of the composition, covered partly by the rosebush, appears the second "wild man," who seems to snatch at the girl or at her flying drapery with his left arm. Although the girl or genius is not lying in bed, as Polia in the story, she seems to be floating in the air behind the horse like in a dream. Or perhaps she was riding on the horse, from which she has been pulled down by the hair. The monumental horse does not appear in the story of Polia and cannot be explained by it. It recalls the statue of a (winged) horse, in an early chapter of the *Hypnerotomachia* described as standing in front of the gate of a town and which is also represented in a woodcut (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Around and below the body of the horse are hanging, falling, and reclining putti who are all in a state of suffering like the genius on the relief. The inscriptions on the pedestal are, on one side: "Diis ambiguis dedicatus"; on the other: "Equus infaelicitatis."<sup>12</sup> Titian probably took the idea and the shape of the horse of misfortune over and connected it with the punishment of Anteros and the dream of Polia. The figure of the horse covering the greater part of the composition is of course more effective in its monumentality than would have been the plain representation of the dream with the bed.<sup>13</sup>

7. Pausanias, VI, 247.

8. The incense also plays a part in the ceremony for Poliphilus and Polia directed by the high-priestess (Antistite). *Hypn.*, O, VIII b.

9. *Hypn.*, Z, V b.

10. Anteros—not in the original sense of "corresponding to love," but as the "adversary of love," in which sense it is also used in the Renaissance period. Cf. Panofsky, *Der gefesselte Eros*, in *Oud Holland*, 1933, p. 194.

11. *Hypn.*, O, III b. The prototype for both are the horses of S. Marco.

12. Interesting in this connection is also the interpretation of a passage from Plato by Pico della Mirandola. Plato, he says, calls the confuse phantasy and the appetite of the sense a bad "cavallo" ("la fantasia confusa e l'appetito dei sensi chiama cattivo cavallo"). Cf. Petersen *op. cit.*, p. 187.

13. My colleague Dr. Lehmann-Hartleben, who some time ago examined the paintings on the sarcophagus quite closely explains the movements of the man at the left rising "out of a

rock" as pulling the hair of a boy (without connecting it, however, with the Polia story). But he sees the horse as part of a central group (behind the rose bush). He thinks that the second man is not moving from right to left, as I do, but from left to right. In that way the hand behind the head of the horse would be his right hand; with it he would threaten to blow and with the other hand grasp at the ribbons of the escutcheon, to pull it down. According to Lehmann-Hartleben he is stepping over the body of a third man, a further adversary, admittedly difficult to distinguish—even in the original painting. If he interprets the movement of the hero rightly, another possibility has to be considered; the horse could belong to Mars, who has dismounted to punish Adonis, and the male nude would be an attendant who leads the horse by the mane to fasten it to the ribbons or the pole of the escutcheon (with the coat of arms of Aurelio). We would then have a continuous representation of the Mars and Adonis story covering almost the whole of the sarcophagus relief with exception of the hair-pulling scene which I have related to Polia.

Be that as it may, in any case the dream of the punishment of Polia is indicated on the relief. This scene plays the same important part in the story of her life (the beginning of the conversion) as does the punishment of Adonis in the story of Venus and the roses. Each scene characterizes the heroine enthroned above: Venus, the goddess and incarnation of love and the "débutante" under her protection. Even the big rosebush which separates the two scenes is not accidental; it plays an important part in the ceremony of reception into the service of Venus. "Miracolosamente," as Poliphilo says, there comes out of the incense a "verdigiante rosario" growing from the altar.<sup>14</sup> The spout of the sarcophagus, which is in the woodcut of the *Hypnerotomachia* on the narrow side, has not been forgotten by Titian. But instead he places the spout, which now waters the rosebush, on the front side in the center, a little below the coat of arms. The oyster shells ("cortice di conchiglie o vero ostree marine"), which the high-priestess solemnly places on the altar and which serve for sprinkling with Holy water (or in the rose legend for preserving the blood of Venus) are in Titian's painting replaced by the precious bowl with the oval embossed concavities. Finally, the third figure of the painting, Cupid—far from all neoplatonic speculations—also corresponds exactly to the myth, as given in the story. He places the blood of Venus, which he has caught in the oyster shell into the sarcophagus, and by this act changes the white roses into red roses. In the painting he seems to be taking out of the water the newly colored flowers.

The "leitmotiv" of the whole (Fig. 3) is therefore the *tintura delle rose*. This theme is sometimes but rather rarely represented by other painters.<sup>15</sup> But Titian in his composition kept closely to the version as given in the *Hypnerotomachia*. That he followed a literary source in such detail is not unexampled in his work. "Bacchus and Ariadne," in the National Gallery, is based on a passage in Catullus and the two other Bacchanals for Alfonso I of Ferrara (Prado) follow quite exactly the "imagines" of Philostratus. In our case, however, Titian does not simply represent a scene already fully pictured in some literary description, but the essence, I dare say, the moral of a whole story. Even more, in tying the miracle of the roses with Polia and her adventure, thus adapting the myth to a special instance, the connection of Venus with Polia becomes much clearer than was possible in the extremely diffuse tale of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

There is also no "persuasion to love," as recent scholars have pretended, giving various mythological or historical interpretations, e.g., Venus persuading Medea to love Jason (Wickhoff). The young woman has already been persuaded; she has definitely abandoned her hatred of men and even bears the flowers for Poliphilo in her hand. She does not look at Venus and seems not even aware of her bodily presence. But the mystery of the coloring of the roses by the blood of the goddess is already operating in her—the red rose lying quite close to her on the edge of the sarcophagus fountain testifies to it.<sup>16</sup>

Of course it may be possible that certain typological contrasts that were in use since the Middle Ages: the nude Virtus and the richly clothed Luxuria and similar allegorical personifications play a part in the composition. But, if at all, then merely as formal elements. There is nothing moralizing in the idea of the painting, no allusion to the well known "dialoghi di Amore," no dispute over higher or less high love. Titian is by nature not inclined to introduce allegorical or philosophical ideas into his paintings. To

that extent he is decidedly an antagonist of all that is manneristic or Neo-Gothic and in this regard also differs from his great contemporary Michelangelo. In contrast to him Titian's "invenzioni" have rarely an enigmatic character and are mostly easy to decipher, if one knows the literary source. This simplicity and directness is one reason why the work of Titian became so important to the anti-manneristic Early Baroque with its realistic and at the same time neoclassic tendencies. Also the early works of Rubens, closely connected with this early Baroque style and especially with Titian have no allegorical or symbolical content. To Titian applies also what Bernini said of Poussin admiring his bacchanals in the Chantelou collection: "Veramente quell'uomo è stato un grande istoriatore e favolleggiatore." What attracted Titian to the theme of Poliphilo was the phantastic story or legend given in a humanistic form and related to a general human process, the awakening of love, symbolized by the *tintura delle rose*.

KUNSTGESCHICHTLICHES JAHRBUCH DER BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA. I: 342 pp.; 334 figs. Leipzig, Heinrich Keller, 1937.

This new *Jahrbuch* is a valuable addition to the similar publications issued by German museums and research institutions. Its appearance speaks well for the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome; and its first volume could scarcely have been more interesting. It contains three long, serious, and thorough articles of almost booklike scope. What lifts these articles above the interest level of competence is the exciting newness of their material, problems, and even of their methods.

In the first article W. Körte deals with the German stone-groups of the early 15th century which are so frequently found in Italy representing the Pietà. The second article, by H. Keller, deals with the sculptural decoration of the cathedral of Siena; the third, by B. Degenhart, is entitled: "Contribution to the Graphology of Old Master Drawings." The editor, Professor Bruhns, director of the Biblioteca Hertziana, has contributed a short preface explaining the aims of the *Jahrbuch*. In collaboration with publisher and printer he has succeeded in giving to this valuable material a dignified setting. The quality of the paper, the printing,<sup>1</sup> and all other technical details are excellent and in unobtrusive good taste. Most of the numerous neat and well-printed halftone illustrations have been hitherto unpublished. They display a material of great interest and I venture to predict, on this account alone, quite a success to the new periodical. One certainly wishes such an undertaking a good future. One improvement that might be suggested for the volumes to follow would be the addition of a complete general index.

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The great diffusion which a certain characteristic type of the Pietà found in Germany in the early years of the 15th century is a remarkable phenomenon. It still eludes a convincing explanation. Scholars have been searching for a miraculous image whose fame might have been the stimulus for the enormous production of this type—as in our days the miracles in Lourdes have caused a reproduction of the Madonna of the grotto to be placed in churches of the remotest villages. Unfortunately, no such image has been found. To explain the uniformity of the statues there has also been an unsuccessful search for a manufactory working somewhere for exportation. However, even if found it would not explain the origins of the demand which caused the production. It is amazing to see the wide diffusion of these Pietà's outside of Germany, and to realize that, of all

14. *Hypn.*, p. 2.

15. E.g., by Nicolas Poussin. Cf. the description of the (lost) painting in *Bellori Vite*, ed. 1821, II, p. 181.

16. Does the big bowl, close by, upon which Polia has laid her left hand contain roses which are still white? Petersen (loc. cit.) also thinks that the vase contains roses.

1. It should be noted, however, that several footnotes which one misses at the bottom of the page occur on the following page. This little misfortune is found, fortunately, only in the first part.



countries, Italy should have been the most willing to accept them, even though she had no inconsiderable production of sculpture of her own.

Hence it was well worth while to collect the facts regarding these German Pietàs in Italy. They can throw more light on the whole problem than their companions in Germany do. It is a great merit of Dr. Körte to have gathered carefully this scattered material, to have presented it in a kind of *catalogue raisonné* and to have reproduced it almost completely in good photographs. Not all of these groups, of course, are such masterpieces as those in S. Domenico in Bologna, in the cathedral of Verzone in the Bargello in Florence, or as the Madonna dell'Acqua in Rimini; but the very beautiful ones and the more modest ones combine to tell a very interesting tale. In Italy these Pietàs are so much more communicative than those in the north, because much more documentary information is available. In fact, almost the only definite dates and the only names of artists, which can be connected with works of this type have come to light in Italy.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Körte reproduces all this documentary evidence in extenso in one of the appendices of his article.

The strange fact that among all the civilized countries of 15th century Europe Italy should have become the principal receptacle for these products of German spirit is, as I say, rather puzzling, and we can understand why the cause of this fact stands absolutely in the center of the investigation. Dr. Körte has realized that this problem could not be dealt with, unless he considered the whole of the activity of German sculptors of this period in Italy. The monuments and documents illustrating this large problem are quite numerous. Again we have to thank the author for a careful survey over the material in an appendix, which provides a solid basis for further research in this wider field.

The author considers it probable that these Pietà groups on Italian soil were almost all created right on the spot by immigrant German artists. Apparently the cases of direct imports from the north or of Italian masters copying a northern prototype are comparatively rare. However, that German sculptures were occasionally imported, is shown somewhat later by the two famous pieces of woodcarving by Veit Stoss in Florence.<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly these were not carved there and were probably shipped by some Florentine who resided in Nürnberg as a commercial representative of his family. But such cases are rare, and the documents name so many German artists working in Italy that there would have been little reason for more extensive importation. And what is the meaning of the immigration of these Germans to Italy? An attempt to answer this question must proceed in two directions: first it must look for

external reasons; then it must try to understand the more hidden and secret laws of cultural gravitation which might rule this interrelationship.

Both procedures are extremely difficult. The German immigration to Italy is one of these phenomena which are almost unexplainable. It is not the only one of its kind. The Italian emigration to France in the 16th century (Fontainebleau) was at least as large and of far more consequence. It may be sufficient for us to quote from Dr. Körte's explanation one very interesting fact, that not the artists alone went to Italy but that apparently they followed in the wake of artisans and merchants. In a number of interesting cases we can even trace the connection of Pietà groups to German religious societies which had been formed by these craftsmen, merchants *et al.* in the more important centers of Italy. This may explain, too, why the Pietàs are chiefly to be found in those parts of Italy which had a strong commercial connection with Germany: Venice and its surroundings and its vast hinterland, which extends far south on both sides of the Adriatic. In a way these migrations of sculptors seem to have continued a good old tradition. When the erection of the great medieval churches made a kind of spontaneous demand for great numbers of stonemasons and sculptors throughout the occident, there must have been a strange fluency to the masses of workmen who traveled from place to place according to the necessities of the moment, regardless of distance, borderlines and frontiers. So we still see in the later years of the 14th and in the early part of the 15th century German sculptors of this kind taking their erratic course through Italy, like Hans von Fernach, Petrus von München, and others. They seem to have been first attracted by the big Gothic cathedral of Milan, which was then in course of construction, the last of the really medieval undertakings of this type. Later they went farther South.<sup>4</sup>

The question if these migrations are the expression of some secret mutual attraction is no less difficult to answer. There is no doubt that the Italians appreciated to some extent the religious ardor of representations like the German Pietà, and probably they felt themselves incapable of producing such things themselves. Italy has never been very fond of the more macabre and mystic genres in Christian iconography. It is no pure chance that we find certain very expressive types of crucifixes of the 14th and 15th centuries in Italy frequently to be the work of German specialists in this subject. And yet there must have evolved a strong fascination for these representations in the Italian worshipper. It is astonishing how many of the Pietà groups have become centers of great veneration, of popular legends, even of whole new churches built around them. But it must be noted that this happened chiefly in remoter provinces of Italy, the Marches, the Abruzzi, and Umbria, where the wide awakes of the Renaissance spirit had not yet and has perhaps never penetrated. There are indications that the Dominicans were fond of them, which is explained by the great veneration of the Virgin by this order. Dr. Körte reminds us with reason in this connection of the judgment on Flemish painting attributed to the old Michelangelo; he saw the devotional character as one of its most outstanding features.<sup>5</sup> But these are isolated episodes; there is very little chance to construct a more general case. Besides, these rapprochements of northern and Italian spirit remain confined more or less to the subject

2. Pietàs in Treviso (1414), Venzone (1424), Montebaldo near Verona (1432), Amandola (before 1450), and Padua, by Egidius of Wiener Neustadt (1429-1430). Betto d'Assisi imitates one of these northern images in Siena in 1421.

3. One has to think of importation also in the case of a few alabaster sculptures. These were probably done in north Germany, if not in part in Flanders, and it is certainly not pure chance that they are to be found in towns on the coast, in Rimini and in Venice (a little saint in S. Sebastiano). I know an alabaster Madonna of about 1480 in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa which is certainly Flemish. A strange relief of the Crucifixion, in Turin, which is there described as "English, 14th Century" may be noted here (Fig. 1). It differs in style from the ordinary English reliefs. It has a much more elaborate and logical architectonic frame; its background is not decorated in the usual way with a single, flat, inlaid or painted pattern, but is modeled. The only similar pattern in an English Alabaster relief that I have found is in a Crucifixion in the Victoria and Albert museum but this also is a simple inlaid work (cf. in *Burlington Magazine*, XXXXVI, 1925, p. 311). Perhaps the reproduction given here will lead to further study of this interesting piece. Is it a continental product and a variation of the ordinary alabaster sculpture? For the photograph I make grateful acknowledgment to Dr. Aldo Bertini of Turin.

4. Though the greatest caution is to be observed here, for how can we be sure that people with the same or similar names but mentioned in different documents are identical—especially if the names are commonplace? There is always the possibility of homonymy.

5. Francesco di Hollanda, *Quatre dialogues sur la peinture* (French translation by Rouanet), Paris, 1911, p. 28. If this passage really represents Michelangelo's opinion, it would show that he admitted the devotional power of Flemish painters but still rather despised them as art.

matter; they do not go deep and fail to touch the real artistic problems.<sup>6</sup> Another reason which probably made the northern sculptors acceptable to the Italians was their technical skill and their gift of handling the working material with such care and pains that the impression of great richness was reached. Most German sculpture, for example the big Gothic wood retables of the 15th century, greatly depends on this artisan-virtuosity for its effect. And so we can understand that among the goldsmiths, embroiderers, etc., even in such a proud town as Florence, we find quite a number of northerners. And also here the admiration the Italians had for Flemish pictures can be quoted as a good parallel: we know they liked the perfection and minuteness of their technique as much as their pious sentiment. The elaborate draperies of the Pietàs have probably appealed to this naive liking for technical perfection. And certainly a piece like the alabaster Pietà in Rimini owes its fame chiefly to its gemlike character.<sup>7</sup>

That a truly intimate exchange of ideas between Italy and Germany was still out of question, that is, that an event of the importance of Dürer's stay in Venice and the acquaintance of the Italians with Dürer's graphic art was still unthinkable or would have had scarcely any repercussion, is obvious. At this time only undistinguished German masters left their homes and went to Italy, where they very often preferred the remoter and backward provinces to the big centers. Therefore it is no great wonder we cannot discover the influence of contemporary Italian art, for example that of Donatello, in these Pietà groups. The necessary condition for such an influence—equality in artistic ambitions and intellectual standards—was here completely lacking. The humility—a very respectable almost medieval humility—of these Pietà carvers was no match for the intellectual independence of the Renaissance Italian artists. Compared with the Italian works of art, these Pietàs must have appeared much more like objects of devotion, if such contrast ever came into the consciousness of the period. And also the other case, that of a possible German influence on the south, must be considered with the greatest precaution. I am glad the author refuses a theory suggested lately, that Donatello's Depositions and Pietà-like representations were influenced by northern sculpture. But we must also be careful not to give too much importance in this context to Ghiberti's admiration for the mysterious goldsmith, Gusmin of Cologne. He is such an obscure person; we know nothing about his work, the place of his nativity, etc. I think the suggestion to connect him with the famous almost international style of Burgundy is probably right, even if there is little proof to identify him definitely with Claus Sluter. And there we are—back to the well-known fact of Italo-northern relations in the period of the so-called "international Gothic style." Gusmin certainly cannot be taken as crown witness when we deal with the problem of the German-Italian relations in the 15th century.

There is nowhere anything to be discovered which can be interpreted as a deeper consequence of the acquaintance of the Italians with the German Pietàs or of the authors of those with Italian art. We know of a few instances, where Italian artists incorporated the motive in their compositions, the depositions in S. Anastasia in Verona or that by Betto d'Assisi in the cathedral in Siena.<sup>8</sup> Dr.

6. In many respects Warburg's approach to the north-south problem has led to more tangible results (cf. Warburg, A., *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, pp. 177 ff.).

7. I would not call alabaster a precious material as the author does. He could easily have convinced himself that in a place like Volterra it is no rarer than marble.

8. I could never agree with the author in seeing in Bellini's beautiful Madonna with a Sleeping Child (Accademia, Venice) an influence from the Pietà representations. The Sleeping Child and Adoring Madonna are typical Venetian motives, repeated hundreds of times. What Bellini added was a more natural pose

Körte suggests further that a few Pietàs, like the one in alabaster in the Louvre, might be Italian copies after the northern prototype. But even then they are downright copies, easily recognizable as such—though one might be tempted to rate them as German originals—and again episodes without consequence.<sup>9</sup>

After all, Italy had her own Pietàs, though far fewer than the north. And the comparisons the author makes of these indigenous works with the foreign ones is one of the most revealing parts of the article. The Italians had developed the Pietà, isolating the group of the Virgin with Christ from more comprehensive groups of the Bewailing or of the Deposition. But the motive never found great favor, in spite of its repeated support by as great a sculptor as Michelangelo. And up to the time of Canova and Dupré even the Baroque, which found some very expressive formulations, did not succeed in making the motive more acceptable. Most of these Italian examples have not at all the self-contained character of the German "Andachtsbild," but they appeal in one way or the other to the spectator, inviting a sort of spiritual dialogue, rather than detached contemplation. Certainly during the Renaissance the popular tradition still preferred the many-figured group of the Deposition in its historical setting, as the numerous groups by Niccolò dell'Arca, Guido Mazzoni, Giovanni della Robbia etc. show. Dr. Körte suggests a very plausible artistic reason for the reluctance to accept the northern formula. The combination of the two figures confronted the sculptor with a problem which was hard to solve in the sense of the classic Italian style. The harsh breaks in the outline and the always precarious balance of the German groups must have provoked the criticism of Italian artists. And whenever they attempted a solution of the problem, they tried to improve in these two respects. So we see them build their groups with a completely different emphasis on proportions, on formal equilibrium, on a more architectonical effect (cf. Fig. 2). It is a pity that the Pietà in the SS. Annunziata in Florence, which Vasari mentions as a work of Dello Delli (c. 1420-30), is lost. It seems to have been contemporary with the German groups and would have shown us how the center of the "rinascita dell'arte" reacted to the motive.<sup>10</sup> As it is, the Italian plastic examples are rare, generally of provincial character or absolutely isolated.

If this résumé of Dr. Körte's investigations has tended to dilute the author's results, and if I seem hesitant to accept all of his conclusions, it is not because I disapprove of his arguments and procedure. I repeat that the article is solidly built on a vast foundation of most interesting material, and that the argument is carried with great brilliancy. It is only that, in my opinion, the author spoils his effects by overemphasizing and dramatizing a historical situation, which is interesting enough without artificial coloring. By applying great contrasts of light and shadow and describing everything under the shape of vivid dynamic happenings he frequently creates an impression as if the whole picture were very sharply outlined and the happenings plausible, which certainly is open to question. Actually, all these things are highly obscure and puzzling to us, and it is better to admit it and to confess our insufficient preparation for the solution of such a comprehensive problem as the Germano-Italian cultural relations in the 15th century.

of the Child, which is usually swaddled. This is a case of misunderstanding a beautiful composition through too much attention to iconography.

9. We might add to this group of more or less faithful Italian copies after German Pietàs one in the Detroit Institute of Arts which the author apparently has overlooked (Fig. 2). It is a beautiful work and a good example of the slight modifications in composition deemed necessary by the Italian artist.

10. The strange Pietàs in the Bargello and in Berlin may be of Tuscan origin, but I see very little reflection of the Florentine style in them.



If Dr. Körte is moving on rather unsafe ground, Dr. Keller has selected his subject in one of those fields in which positive conclusions always leave me uneasy. To one who is used to the comparative abundance of documents, source material, and monuments in the Renaissance and the following periods, the earlier periods—with their scantiness of positive information and their badly decimated stock of monuments—will always seem highly speculative ground. And the manifold interpretations of these earlier monuments and documents by different scholars will only increase the feeling of bewilderment. In controversies like those in which Dr. Keller has to take position, I usually feel quite willing to accept each of the theories as a possible truth; one may notice how bad a figure the word "truth" cuts in this connection. Consequently I very seldom feel inclined to be persuaded by the theories which are pronounced as the only possible truth. This may sound nihilistic. But I think a plain confession of our inability to decide between two or more possibilities is to be preferred to the opiate of a firm conviction, usually the more furiously upheld the less solid the foundation. Dr. Keller has fought gallantly against the odds in the pay of the Lord of historic darkness. He certainly knew how hard it is to bring light into such problems and how careful he had to be in his conclusions and interpretations not to find himself in untenable positions. He has tried to avoid artificially constructed theories and to limit himself to what the monuments and documents would yield without pressure. But the documents are meager, and he could not build up a study with question marks alone. I find it my duty as reviewer to put one or two more such ominous signs where the author thought to avoid them.

It is surprising that the rich sculptural decoration of such a well-known church as the cathedral in Siena has never found an adequate appreciation. A few figures of the façade have been known in rather inadequate photographs and have been reproduced rather indiscriminately as the works of Giovanni Pisano, who was the architect of the lower part of the façade; of the later group of sculptures, those by Giovanni d'Agostino which decorate the imposing fragment of the "Duomo nuovo" have been recognized as important. But the majority of the statues have been completely neglected, and consequently, the interesting problem of the rôle of sculpture in one of the great building workshops of Italy has never been touched upon. As so often, the explanation is very trivial. In spite of all the interest displayed since more than a generation in Giovanni Pisano and his contemporaries, nobody ever has dared to tackle the problem of taking satisfactory photographs of these not very accessible sculptures. It is Dr. Keller's merit to have filled the gap and to have introduced us to this interesting and often quite beautiful material through the rich illustrations of his article. This photographic presentation of the material is accompanied by a careful analysis of the state of preservation—information which was badly needed as the façade and its decoration have been heavily restored. We find, further, a reconstruction of the original location of the sculptures—many have changed places during the restorations—and an interpretation of their iconographical meaning.<sup>11</sup> All this has never before been carried out with such thoroughness and gives a solid foundation to Dr. Keller's further conclusions. It is really a procedure similar to that of Dr. Körte, and, as I said before, this serious way of presenting a completely new material gives to the whole *Jahrbuch* its specific character and importance.

The façade of the cathedral of Siena holds quite a unique place in history: here almost for the only time in Italy in the Middle Ages architecture and monumental sculpture seem to have found themselves together in a union almost

as complete as that which we see in the great Gothic cathedrals of France. It seems almost as if here the true spirit of the French Gothic had entered Italy. It was only for a brief moment towards the end of the 13th century, however, and only in Siena, that this was possible. Arnolfo di Cambio in Florence had tried something similar at almost the same time but his attempt had a decidedly stronger Italian and anti-French flavor than that of Giovanni Pisano. Besides, Arnolfo never succeeded in carrying his plans far enough so that later centuries would respect them. And the slightly later façade of the cathedral in Orvieto shows a complete reaction in spite of its undoubted dependence on Giovanni Pisano's architectural idea. Its sculptures are not monumental and they are not in the elastic and yet close connection with architecture which is characteristic of the best French Gothic. They are not independent statues, but reliefs which cling to the architecture like ivy, almost suffocating the big piers which form the basis of the whole structure. An outspoken element of disharmony has entered in the rather embarrassing and unmitigated difference in scale between the big forms of the architecture and the smallfigured reliefs—both in themselves beautiful, but very little suited to each other—if we judge according to the rules of French Gothic architecture.

Northern Italy had tried since about 1100 to follow the development which resulted in France in the complete interdependence of sculpture and architecture in the mature Gothic style. And it was northern Italy which later, in the 15th century and even still afterwards, produced occasional examples of such close interrelationship as the Certosa of Pavia. But it is significant that in the whole course of this assimilation the Italians failed to take over wholeheartedly what was perhaps the purest expression of French Gothic ideals: the doorway with statues in the jambs. Even the north of Italy apparently could not silence the innate classic tendency, ever alive in Italy, which refuses decidedly to bring the human figure into too strong a dependence on the architecture. Remarkable, for instance, the half-hearted introduction of figures attached to the columns of a doorway on the cathedral of Verona. Through the development of Italian sculpture there goes the tendency to keep sculpture in places where it could develop freely, as on decorative pieces like pulpits, fountains, monuments, etc. And sculpture integrated into architecture was treated with the greatest regard to its independence: above all they preferred reliefs, which have a tendency to set up their own aesthetic effect, independent of their surroundings. See, for example, the façade of Orvieto. If monumental statues were wanted, the sculptors, like Antelami, carved deep niches into the wall which created an individual space and prevented the sculpture from becoming the slave, as in France, of columns or similarly modeled architectural members. This had also been Arnolfo di Cambio's solution of the problem in his façade of the cathedral in Florence. This was the spirit which created the niches on the campanile in Florence and on Orsanmichele which the Renaissance was to use as appropriate frames for its statues. Central Italy was even more reluctant in this regard than northern Italy. It is also most significant that the doors of the façade in Siena, at least their jambs and the piers between them, remained undecorated in spite of the rich sculpture on the other parts of the façade. And so we need not be astonished to observe how the harmony of sculpture and architecture achieved in Siena is only one *sui generis*. It is most interesting to follow Dr. Keller's careful analysis of Giovanni Pisano's compromise—the compromise of a genius and therefore an act of highest artistic power and complete synthesis—between his inherited classic feeling and the newly learned French tendencies. Harmony between figure and architecture occasionally turns for Giovanni Pisano into an almost hostile tension between both, a tension exploited shrewdly for very personal effects.

11. The specific Italian characteristics of the iconographic program are very interesting, as the author has succeeded in showing.



Figures step out of niches into space;<sup>12</sup> they move in full bodily freedom, emancipated from the decorative lines which bound them to the architecture in the French cathedrals; they anticipate in their bold bodily freedom the sculptures of the beginning realism in the second half of the 14th century, such as the Parler sculpture, etc.; different figures are grouped together into much more naturalistic groups than are all the Annunciations, Visitations, etc., on the French door jambs. Everywhere we feel strong forces counteract the laws of the imported style. Architecture and figures in this façade both "leben zwischen Gotik und antikischem Stil." And this dualism, strongly felt and welded into form gives to the sculpture as well as to the architecture a special flavor. It is important to know that already here, in Giovanni Pisano's first monumental work, this theme should resound so powerfully, the elaboration of which was to fill all his later life.

Dr. Keller points out that just at the time when Giovanni Pisano was supposedly in France to study in the workshops of the big cathedrals, certain changes in style were taking place there which led in a similar direction. Dr. Keller brings convincing proof that in France Giovanni probably paid special attention to the monuments just then in the course of completion—which after all, is quite natural. This would be, for instance, the rich inner façade decoration of Rheims. But if we consider that even these sculptures are still completely Gothic, and if we assume that Giovanni has looked with appreciative eyes also at the classic phase of French Gothic sculpture—perhaps more than Dr. Keller is willing to admit—we must admire the independence, with which he accepted all these French inspirations. His sturdy and earthy looking saints and prophets belong to quite another tribe than their long, emaciated, and dour French companions. Italian and classic spirit shows in every fold, in every movement. And we are quite willing to subscribe to judgments of the author's like that on the beautiful horse of the northern buttress of the façade, namely, that European art in no other period has created a representation of a horse which is so closely related to those of the Parthenon. The pages which the author dedicates to the French sources of Giovanni Pisano's style are among the most important ones of his study. It is a progress that in this connection he paid more attention to the much neglected post-classic period of French Gothic sculpture than is usual. However, one feels here on rather unsafe ground. If a problem like the chronology of the classic French sculpture of the 13th century is already so highly controversial, I feel we know still less about this later phase of the development of French sculpture. It would be highly desirable if the study of this interesting period would be taken up with more intensity, not only for its own sake, but also to throw some light on the ramifications of this later style in Germany and in Italy.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately we do not know anything definite about the year in which Giovanni Pisano began to work on the façade at Siena; 1284, 1287, and 1290 have been suggested. Dr. Keller inclines to accept the first date as probable; if we want to claim the design of the façade for Giovanni, it seems safer, of course, to have him appear on the stage as early as possible.<sup>14</sup> But who knows what really happened

in these first years of work on the façade? In the same dimness lies the end of Giovanni's activity in Siena. The chronological obscurities are numerous throughout Giovanni Pisano's life. Even the date of his birth is most doubtful, and I do not feel that Dr. Keller has brought forward a more convincing argument for his suggestion of a comparatively late date than have his predecessors for an earlier one. The same holds good for the date of Giovanni's trip to France. More certitude about the French dates might bring clarity here however. The whole chronology of Giovanni's works is highly controversial and I feel the author might have used a bit more discretion in establishing a chronological sequence for the statues in Siena. I do not know, either, if he is right when he claims the sculptures of the Sienese façade to hold such a unique place in Giovanni's oeuvre. I fail to see the fundamental differences which the author discovers between them and the later works. And I do not know if their place in Giovanni's whole development is now definitely determined. It is fortunate, however, that Dr. Keller has not attempted to make any differentiation among the different statues as to their execution by the master or by pupils. He points out that the costumes and the practices of the big medieval architects' and sculptors' workshop make the solution of this problem quite impossible. And, certainly, we have to be extremely careful here, as we have no definite documentary proof whatsoever for Giovanni's participation in the work in a capacity other than "capomaestro" of the building. We can be grateful enough that our eyes are capable of discovering his spirit also in the sculptural decoration. But there is no way to turn this general statement into a more precise one by distinguishing between Giovanni's own work (if it is existing) and that of his helpers.

The work of the immediate followers of Giovanni Pisano on the cathedral is of comparatively little interest, except for certain questions of attribution. The only important personality which we encounter in the further course of the decoration of the cathedral is the well known and interesting personality of Giovanni d'Agostino. It is fascinating, however, to follow the complicated history of the ambitious building projects the Sienese conceived for their cathedral in this later period. And in this connection Dr. Keller seems to have succeeded to establish a hitherto unsuspected fact, which is interesting, and which, if it proved to be generally accepted, would settle a long dispute. Dr. Keller produces good reasons for attributing the big parchment elevation of the façade of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni, which is preserved in the Opera del Duomo to Domenico d'Agostino, the brother of the sculptor Giovanni d'Agostino. The project would date from about 1350. All the historical evidence is strongly in favor of this attribution. There is, however, a detail in which I cannot agree with Dr. Keller. A careful examination of the drawing which I recently made with my friend Dr. Degenhart has indicated to us that the first story of the project reproduces an already existing piece of the façade, to which the upper stories have been added by the draughtsman as a suggestion for completing this fragment. This would agree with the whole history of the baptistery. Its façade was probably begun as soon as one began at all to think about this amplification (c. 1316), and it may have been finished when the baptistery was vaulted in 1325. Then there was an interruption of about 25 years. And the plan in the Opera del Duomo is the first step to the completion. But the main thing is that the plan really seems to date from about the same date as the famous design for a pulpit, the main part of which is in Orvieto, while smaller fragments found their ways to London and Berlin. There are certainly great differences between this plan for S. Giovanni and the other similar plan in the Opera del Duomo, usually mentioned in the same breath with the first one, that for the Cappella della Piazza (the chapel on the façade of the Palazzo Pubblico). Whatever Dr. Degenhart may say in the last of these articles about

12. How direct a predecessor of Ghiberti and of Verocchio Giovanni Pisano is in this respect! The St. Matthew and the St. Thomas group on Orsanmichele show the same freedom of interplay between niche and figure, a freedom which anticipates the Baroque.

13. See especially the important article by M. Weinberger on the Madonna from the north porch at Notre Dame in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIV, pp. 1 ff.

14. For the problem of the architecture of the façade, see the most important book by Walter Paatz, *Werden und Wesen der Trecento-Architektur in Toskana in Florentiner Forschungen*, N. F., I, Burg, 1937.

the Siennese character of the hand who actually executed this latter drawing, its ideas and motives certainly are Florentine and strongly dependent on Andrea Orcagna, as Dr. Keller has succeeded in demonstrating. There is little decorative sculpture on the façade of S. Giovanni as it is today other than the strange heads on the ground story, which one really can not date on the basis of the newly found date of the drawing; they can not be as late as 1370 as Dr. Keller thinks, and they agree in style well with the date we would assign to the first phase of building this façade under Camaino di Crescenzo. Had the plans of the drawing been carried out without alterations, we would see here in Siena one of the most interesting cycles of architectural sculpture of the 14th century in Italy. There were elaborate galleries planned on this façade on which there were to stand lifesize figures, prophets perhaps, leaning nonchalantly on the railing of the gallery, looking downward or upward, just as casual visitors would. This is a *verisme* which goes much farther than the attempts of Giovanni Pisano to make his figures step out of niches. Dr. Keller compares it with similar motives used in the north in the second half of the century, the most remarkable and the most similar example being the figures which lean over a balcony of one of the churches in Mühlhausen in Thuringia. It is only strange that this idea should be found here in Siena already as early as the middle of the century, while the examples in the north are at least a decade or two later. Could the existence of a classic prototype near Siena, the Porta Marzia in Perugia, really give an explanation for this surprisingly early appearance of the idea? Could it be in this way a piece of classic revival, not connected with the northern realism? It is hard to tell; the attribution and the dating of the plan are intimately connected with the answer we may find one day for this question.

The idea is carried out not very logically after 1377 by Giovanni di Cecco on the upper part of the main façade. The figures of the Madonna and the Ancestors of Christ which surround the big circular window can be imagined as standing on a gallery similar to that projected on the baptistery's façade. The sculptures themselves are insignificant, and the history of Siennese cathedral sculpture would close with rather a strong anticlimax, were there not the series of beautiful statues on the roof of the south nave.<sup>15</sup> These puzzling figures deserve a more careful treatment than the author has conceded them. And in spite of the author's skepticism they might yield some enlightenment on the beginnings of the new style of the 15th century in Siena.

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It is more difficult to do justice to the last article of the *Jahrbuch* in the short space of a review. While Drs. Körte and Keller were dealing with concrete cases, Dr. Degenhart attempts to give a contribution to the knowledge of old master drawings in general. His thesis is simple and convincing, provided one tries to understand it rightly and does not fall victim to the temptation to exaggerate it. Dr. Degenhart has set himself the task of proving that every local school of artists has had a special way of dealing with the problems of drawing, regardless of the personalities of the artists and regardless of the different manners dictated by the "Zeitstil." They have had each their own preferences in regard to the drawing material: color and kind of paper, medium and drawing tools, preferences which are rather obvious and have always been duly noted. What the author wants to prove, however, is that, beyond

this, they had individual ways of handling these materials, and that they have produced very different effects with the same kind of pencil, chalk, pen, or brush. The author takes us into a sphere, where such materialistic considerations as a difference of materials have only a secondary importance. He wants to prove that the ornamental feeling in drawing determined by the graphic quality of the line, which, after all, is the basic element of all drawing, is different in each school, and permanently different. According to the author we can speak of definite local manners in the treatment of the line, and from the graphic character we can draw our conclusions regarding the provenance of a given drawing. Of course this idea is not completely new; observations like this have been made before. The method which results from it, an analysis of the meaning of the line as form, a graphology of drawing, has been used frequently to solve the most diverse problems of attributions or dating of drawings and prints. After all, a great deal of the criticism of the drawn, engraved, or etched oeuvre of Dürer, Rembrandt, Schongauer *et al.* is based on this kind of analysis. But a comprehensive study of drawings in general under this point of view has never been attempted. And never has anybody tried to define local characteristics so precisely as it is done here. The article is only one part of a greater work. It deals only with Italian drawings, but we may expect a continuation of it, discussing in the same way the drawings of the northern countries.

The essay is overwhelming in its richness. It is full of interesting side remarks on the most varied problems of the criticism of drawings. And even if the author would not have mentioned drawings from the remotest collections and reproduced an almost completely unknown material, we would easily gather that he knows the drawing collections of Europe and especially Italy as very few people of today and that he has quite a unique knowledge of the whole field. It does not know who else could quote drawings by G. L. Amidano, P. Malombra, Ottaviano Cane, P. A. Avanzini, Gaetano Calloni, C. Uccelli with the same circumspection. I cannot deal here with all the incidental qualities of the article, however much they may be one of the serious reasons why everybody interested in drawings ought to read this article. And I cannot enter into any discussion regarding attributions, etc. It seems that the material serving as foundation is selected carefully among the signed or otherwise safely attributed drawings. The attributions to schools are certainly right, and so the general idea would not be imperiled by any minor changes. The author very seldom discusses attributions at all. He stresses some new attributions only in a few cases which belong to a field of his special interest and to a connection with the ideas of his essay. To fill up the gaps which exist in our knowledge in regard to early drawings (late 14th and early 15th century) he advances his new attributions to Ottaviano Nelli,<sup>16</sup> the school of Semitecolo,<sup>17</sup> and the school of Altichiero.<sup>18</sup> We may safely accept these suggestions, which are based on a very thorough knowledge of this rare and seldom studied material as a downpayment on the "Corpus of early Italian drawings" that the author has promised us.

The vast number of illustrations (almost 200) contributes most effectively to the impression of richness. Better known or quite famous drawings are shown in characteristic details, in natural size, or even slightly enlarged, so that we get a good insight into their structure. The author has done everything to select his material, so that the illustrations prove his points as clearly as his text. This is a most fortunate case of perfect collaboration between an excellent photographer and the writer, and another reason why this

15. If these statues really stood on the piers of the nave at one time, we see them represented on a *tavoletta di Bicherna* from the year 1483 which represents the interior of the cathedral. Cf. Mini, M., *Le tavolette dipinte di Bicherna e di Gabella*, Siena, 1901, pl. 46. Mr. Allan Weller called my attention to this interesting document.

16. Prophet (?), Uffizi, Degenhart, fig. 197.

17. Manuscript with drawings in the Ambrosiana, Degenhart, fig. 221.

18. Figure-study in the Ambrosiana, Degenhart, fig. 249.



article should be referred to in every print room which owns Italian drawings. In this emphasis on well-selected examples, in the tendency to build his analysis on the basis of well-chosen and striking comparisons, one feels with gratification the training of the author in a certain Wölfflinian tradition.

We must not expect any changes in our conception of the Italian schools from the author's analysis of the drawings. Central Italy for him is opposed to north Italy in very much the same way as for the historian of architecture, painting, or sculpture. And both great contrasting units split up again into all the different local schools: Florence, Siena, Umbria in central Italy; Venice, Milan, Bologna, and many others in north Italy. But we must expect a great refinement in analysis and consequently a much more clearly defined picture of the tendencies of the single schools. The picture can be so much clearer, because in a way it is very abstract, based on such an abstraction as the graphic value of the line. We might almost say that we penetrate underneath the rich veneer of paint or marble which we are used to contemplate in the other arts, into the innermost structure of artistic form; we see one of the fundamental principles of form laid bare. It is revealing that the author, when he wants to make comparisons with the other arts, inevitably turns to architecture, the art which in its abstractness reveals almost as clearly as the drawing the fundamental qualities of an artistic personality, or of a school.

I need not especially point out that the author is far from any attempt to develop some arbitrary "Grundbe-griffe" applicable to any time and anything. The honesty with which the concepts are distilled from the raw material is one of the basic qualities of Dr. Degenhart's study. One might say, furthermore, that the author leads us underneath the veneer of historical change. His main thesis is, after all,—and here we come to a dangerpoint—that the graphic character of a school is something unalterable. He claims even that an artist born in a certain place or descendant from a certain place, never loses the specific local quality of his line wherever else he might have worked in his life, just as nobody can change the lines of his finger prints. The author tries to avoid exaggerations; and there are few objections to make to his thesis. But I cannot see a very decided north Italian character in Barocci, and as much as I should like to claim Bernini as essentially Florentine, I don't believe it can be done on the basis of his manner of drawing. But I am chiefly worried about the too docile followers which such an analysis might find, and I think a warning is not out of place. These concepts might be debased into the worst kind of materialistic stencils and it would be a pity if, as such, they would leave an unwelcome pattern a bit everywhere. The author saves a certain elasticity by admitting fluctuations in the smaller centers which lie between the big ones and which show certain mixtures of style. These slowly become absorbed completely into the bigger schools. So for him only the real extremes are extremes: Florence and Verona, Siena, Venice and Milan, Rome and Bologna stand out as the masters<sup>19</sup> and the *misera plebs* is keeping less lordly and less decided courses.<sup>20</sup> This conception certainly seems very reasonable and perhaps can be enlarged.

19. The Marches, for example, are a whole province divided continually between Venice and Umbria. Piemonte does not appear at all. Southern Italy—Naples excepted—never played an important part.

20. It is significant that a Roman school does not figure at all in the essay. This reflects the fact that of the hundreds of great artists who made Rome into what it is—or was—only two or three were born in Rome or Lazio. Rome was never creative in art, though wealthy and powerful enough to attract the greatest artists of their time and to see their style develop into a Roman greatness. Almost at the same time we find there as architects, Bernini, Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona, whom Dr. Degenhart rightly considers to be pronounced exponents of three different schools.

Most embarrassing to his thesis, however, and a bit neglected by the author, are the very greatest masters of the brush or chisel who were also great draughtsmen: Titian, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Bernini, Giorgione and others. As much as Raffael fits into the Umbrian school and remains faithful to its traditions throughout his life, as little will the others fit into any of the pigeonholes. The author is uneasy about them, tries to explain certain of their qualities from their native places; for example, he emphasizes the terra firma character in Titian and explains certain un-Florentine characteristics in Leonardo's drawings from his being born in Vinci, a small place right outside Florence, which according to the author leans already to Siena as a center. But I feel the author fails to do justice to these great masters and to give them the places due to them in the whole picture. Here, perhaps, lies a certain limitation of his method.

On the whole, however, the thesis of the continuity of a local manner in treating the line works out beautifully. One accepts it as such a good excuse, when one is at a loss to decide whether one of the typical Florentine red crayon studies from nature (e.g., a piece of drapery, a hand, a nude) belongs in the early 16th century, in the school of Sarto, or, in the ripe 17th century, in the circle of Furini. Florentine drawing has certainly changed very little in these 150 years. And it is amazing to realize how close Donato Creti's pen sketches are to certain Parmigianino drawings; how Ligozzi, who adopted Florence definitely as his home, nevertheless never loses his Veronese characters etc.<sup>21</sup> And it is revealing to follow the author into his theory of the predisposition of a school for a certain style: the later Quattrocento and the early 16th century were certainly the period when Florentine drawing was at its height; the preceding period only seems to tend towards that style of perfection and later periods never seem to be able to lose it. Siena and Parma were predisposed for the Gothic and Mannerism and are attached to certain characteristics of these two periods consequently throughout their development. Certain centers in North Italy, like Bologna, already promise in their earlier drawings the future flourishing of their Baroque. Certainly such observations are a very good proof for the consistency of the author's theory.

All the numerous other observations of the author referring to technical peculiarities, etc., fit well into these general ideas and add further strength to the whole structure. It was a good idea to close the article with the interesting pages on the organization and composition of drawing-sheets wholly covered with various sketches—of which there are preserved considerable numbers. In the general disposition of the sketches, in the decorative pattern which a true artist gives subconsciously to such a sheet, the same tendencies ought to be found as in the pattern of a small detail of the lines. And Dr. Degenhart succeeds excellently in proving that this is the case; and so he adds a solid and remarkable keystone to his construction. I am sorry the author did not pay more attention to the printed graphic art. He speaks about the essentially graphic, i.e., printlike, character of certain schools, especially those of the north. But what is his opinion about the Florentine engraving and woodcut? Botticelli who is so closely connected with the former and vouches for its outstanding quality is barely mentioned. What is the relation of the Venetian woodcut of the 15th century—another pride of Italian graphic art—to the drawings of the period? I think in the

21. Most amazing examples of the persistency of these local styles are three drawings which I attributed to Filippo Paroli, the Genoese sculptor, in *Old Master Drawings*, XI, 1934-1935, p. 48. A. M. Brivio, in her bibliography in *Arte*, suggested their connection with the much younger Magnasco. The similarity is there, but extends also to Biscaino, G. B. Castiglione, Lorenzo de' Ferrari, Bacciccia, *et al.*, i.e., to all Genoese artists. Dr. Degenhart could have made good use of this case.



second part of this article, which is to deal with the north, Dr. Degenhart will not be able to skip so lightly over printed graphic arts. Of course I missed, also, a word about the wave of Dürer imitation which sweeps over Italy in the early 16th century and certainly is not quite irresponsible for the general change in graphic style which then takes place—we need only think of the example of Marc Antonio. Or is the change in the latter's style entirely due to the Umbrian influence of Raffaello? And how does that remarkable change fit into the whole picture? I shall be curious to read what Dr. Degenhart has to say about the deep change in graphic values in Germany from the Master E. S. to Dürer's late style.

As I have said, it is difficult to record, in a few lines, an appreciation of this article. There is but a beginning if I have succeeded in distilling out a few general principles which are the leading ideas of the whole. But it is so interesting to follow Dr. Degenhart through the field of his research, because we have in him a guide not only of vast knowledge but of quite unusual artistic sensitiveness who, in the course of the time we spend in his company, almost imperceptibly teaches us to appreciate such neglected values as the elegant and delicate line of Donato Creti, the richness of Parmegianino's technique, the monumentality of a sketch by Empoli, and a thousand other things. He not only widens our knowledge, but educates our power of appreciation—the most precious service a writer can offer to his readers.

ULRICH MIDDENDORF

LIMNERS AND LIKENESSES. THREE CENTURIES OF AMERICAN PAINTING. By Alan Burroughs. 246 pp.; 191 ills. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1936. \$7.50.

It is unusual to find a book on American art so serviceable to many types of reader. But the book will be misjudged unless its purpose is rather exactly understood. Burroughs sets out to define whatever tradition of painting exists in the United States. He finds in American art primarily a "realism." American artists are limners, unsophisticated craftsmen, bent on doing Likenesses; it is this which he will trace through Three Centuries of American Painting.

This essential American realism, it is true, is highly varied. For example, Burroughs calls attention to Goodrich's observation of the intellectual realism of Eakins, as opposed to the visual realism of Sargent. And as for "beauty," it is doubtful if Smibert ever thought of it as such, and the Copley letters never mention it apart from other "solid" values. In American art "eyesight" takes the place of "beauty." Craftsmanship, persevering study, and honesty of vision are seen as aesthetic virtues. Vitality is associated with this attitude ("There is no substitute for vitality in painting"). This tradition occurs in a "succession of individual records linked by a common point of view, and not developing out of one another as in European traditions, from master to pupil."

Conceiving this search for realism as essentially American, he isolates it and constructs his book to reveal it, rather than to objectify the many parts of American art. Thus, criticism of the parts is determined by his belief in a realism of the whole—the charming manners of a heretic may be only partly seen. Enthusiasms of the nonconformists are regarded as stylizations, appear sometimes as cults, or as foreign.

For example, Benton at The New School, New York, is "cubistic only in arrangement, not idea," but this does not deny him a place among independent American painters. And, of Robinson's Pittsburgh murals: "Scenes he might easily have vitalized with more realism . . . he reduced to a casual pattern . . . faintly modernistic. American in character in spite of the formality of his methods." One must not seek to comprehend such notes as independent

characterization, but remember they refer to a special approach.

Although some may refine Burroughs' broad deductions or refute them by seeing different or passing strains, all must see the excellence of a book which brings out in ordered view a body of valid material requiring no "selling" to the reader. Within its limits Burroughs' type of criticism is attractive and convincing; no book since Isham has been so complete. This does not mean that Burroughs does not often express appreciation of LaFollette and Mather; but rather that he has built on many scores of studies—magazine articles, recent monographs, the great Worcester XVIIIth century exhibition (for which he was active), etc. As this great archive becomes evident, as light from it discloses Dunlap ever more a Vasari, one must recognize, finally, the possibility for serious research in American art history.

Through the first three chapters Burroughs is occupied with congenial material, and the reader is delighted to see a changing American taste neatly charted through a series of short time units. These divisions are firm and well-ordered, and the individual characterizations do not seem forced into an arbitrary frame. The documentation is lavish; and though openings are noted for further evidence when found, the structure seems of lasting value.

Some titles and random quotations: "Netherlandish Realism in the XVIIIth Century. The choice of the early planters in both New Amsterdam and Boston was evidently for plain face-painting and simple patterns. It seems astounding that before King Philip's war, when the Indians burned houses in Boston, a sensitive limner was quietly following his trade with such assurance that he must be recognised as one of the leaders of the new civilization in the wilds of Massachusetts, and that he was but one of three painters who used the same formulas in their work. The Second Generation in New York. [In connection with which he notes that] the Dutch magic of modeling gave way to hard pattern. The Taste of the Southern Planters. The combined forces of Smibert and Pelham raised the arts in Boston to an European level."

Through this discussion style is felt to be determined by a fairly constant factor, environment ("Nationality is a matter of environment"), and by a changing element, taste. An artist imposes a taste (as is felt to be possible in the case of Samuel King); or the *Zeitgeist* (not so named) may force an artist's style. "The career of an artist is not a fit unit for the discussion of artistic change," but (and this is of much interest to Burroughs) the compelling force of taste may often be seen to operate positively on an individual career. He traces in the work of Europe-trained artists the effect of practise in this country. Thus in the interval between his painting of Mary Het Smith and Mrs. Hesselius, Gustavus Hesselius would seem to have become "thoroughly American and realistic." Burroughs would see similar effects in Blackburn, Earl, and others.

The colonial portraits in the first three chapters were easy for him to classify. In the fourth chapter, arriving at The Federal Period, the cataloguer is confronted with the embarrassing problem of pigeonholing several intermixing style currents; one might see in them: surviving colonial elements; bold and "grand," perhaps "painterly," English elements; clear modeled and clear patterned French-neoclassic elements (especially evident to Burroughs); or "romantic" effects of oncoming mistiness and movement. Earl was found to be "duplicating independently the trend toward neoclassic austerity which Jacques Louis David was effecting in Paris." Stuart capitalized "the Republic's astounding capacity for absorbing portraits of George Washington . . . For the most part [Stuart] was the valedictorian of the English style, and a phenomenon in American taste." Yet there is exerted, as on Neagle, the "almost inevitable influence of Stuart." Morse settles down to realistic face painting. Jarvis is a realist. "The whole

excellence of art," Burroughs quotes the youthful Jewett as saying, lies in "bold and judicious oppositions of light and shade, and a free, light manner of handling color." Burroughs himself, focussing on the realism angle, explains Jewett's art and that of Waldo as a "compromise between objective likeness and poetic methods." When future exhibitions uncover more of this material it can be better characterized.

From the fifth chapter on, concerning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the difficulty of classification increases, for one deals not alone with portraits but with several genres. "The first part of the nineteenth century is a period of such confusion of efforts that one is forced to simplify it arbitrarily, if anything like a comprehensive view is to be attained. Logically, after mentioning some French influence, one should go on to later French influences." Not abandoning this idea, Burroughs decides to divide his material into separate topics: for example, a group of artists who have experienced these later French influences; a group of painters interested in a particular type of subject matter—as landscape; a group of poet artists who are spiritually related; etc. Thus abandoning his early short time divisions, he shifts to chains of biographies spanning many years. Following such a topic as The Cult of Nature (which discusses a sequence of landscapists from Earl through Martin) he goes back to pick up and trace another thread, and so on. For example, in The Triumph of Poetic Painting he mentions, in order: Quidor, Fuller, Ryder, Davies, Burroughs, Jerome Meyers, and Kenneth Hayes Miller. The Grand Tour includes: The Dusseldorf Influence, then The Domination of French Art (from Hunt to Alexander Brook), then Old Masters from Munich.

Great milestones in the artistic world, when mentioned incidentally or otherwise in connection with some topic, do not automatically broaden to refer to contemporary painting in general. For the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Burroughs no longer feels it worth while to chart a single taste embracing various contemporary forms, and slowly changing year by year. Instead, as indicated above, he shifts to the biographical chains built around a given topic. This is not to say that he omits such subjects as The National Academy, panoramas, Luman Reed, The Art Union, Dusseldorf exhibitions, the Centennial, etc.; but they are not related to a possible single, changing taste—as was seen in the colonial period. More study relating the highly active milieu, its exhibiting societies, rising dealers, journalists, newspaper draughtsmen, etc., to the total cross-section of art, might have turned up a different set of painters, thereby to establish other unities.

The last chapter, A Struggle for Nationality, reaches back one last time into the nineteenth century to consider a chain of artists felt to be rather independently American: Mount, Bingham, Blythe, Homer, Eakins, Henri, Luks, Speicher, Kent, Hopper, Luce, Wood, *et. al.* The interesting twentieth century, already touched on in The Domination of French Art, is only broadly suggested. To establish the theme of the "realism" of American art, those artists interested, broadly, in abstract art ("the cult of modernistic art") are seen in contrast with those struggling for independence from foreign artistry. Arriving at 1936, the work ends cheerfully with a hope and with a caution.

Burroughs' esprit has helped him to complete an immense job. All people interested in American art must be exceedingly grateful to him. And, of a book so expertly put together that one reads it without a thought for factual error, the following notes must not be taken as ungracious. Kensett, according to the Dictionary of American Biography, was born in 1816. Whereas, in discussing the origins of Copley's style Burroughs mentions a Badger influence, now by 1938, with new evidence, the catalogue of the Boston Copley exhibition (on which Burroughs aided) speaks of outside influence coming first probably from

Greenwood, then seemingly from Feke. The Home of the Heron, by Inness, is dated 1893 instead of 1873. Thanks-giving, by Doris Lee, is now in The Art Institute of Chicago. Since the illustrations have generally only one, and sometimes a long reference, it would have saved much flipping of pages to have them in the text. One wishes that Copley, after quitting America, might not have been left suspended in England; that Whistler could, like Sargent, have been a foil for something; and that amusing folk art might not have been cut off on ideological grounds.

JOHN ALLCOTT

PROVERBES EN RIMES. Text and Illustrations of the Fifteenth Century, from a French Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. By Grace Frank and Dorothy Miner. 117 pp.; 186 pls. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. \$2.75.

This book, the first devoted to a work of art in the Walters Gallery, sets a high standard. It reproduces all of the 182 illustrated folios in Walters ms. 514; its comparatively low price was made possible by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the cooperation of the Modern Language Association. The ms. contains a collection of French proverbs in verse. Each of the proverbs ends a stanza of eight rhymed lines which describe a situation to which the proverb is applicable, and each of the stanzas is accompanied by an illustration. Since the text sometimes refers to an illustration, and the illustration always occupies a greater part of the folio than the corresponding stanza, the manuscript is a kind of picture book, *Proverbes Figurés*.

Reproduction of the ms. is accompanied by studies of the text, made by Grace Frank, and of the illustrations, by Dorothy Miner, librarian of the gallery. These studies are exemplary for their method, completeness, and their clear and fluent style. They extend from a consideration of the general significance of proverbs in the middle ages to an examination of the peculiarities of the text and illustrations of the Walters manuscript. The authors show that the manuscript belongs to a very small group of French proverbs in verse with illustrations, and that it is the earliest extant manuscript of the group, though it derives from a still earlier one, now unknown, which served as a prototype also for Brit. Mus. Add. 37527 and a fragment at Gap in southern France. The general character of the script and the illustrations of the Walters ms. date it in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and a careful study of the costumes has enabled Miss Miner to narrow the limits to about 1485-90. The drawings, in light brown ink, show a peculiar method of modeling the figures in fine, close, generally vertical lines, which, as the author suggests, bears a relationship with engraving. Further investigation of this relationship, however, as well as localization of the manuscript (Burgundy or Lyons probable), was rendered difficult because of our limited knowledge of both engraving and popular illustration in France at this period.

It is this lack of knowledge about French popular illustration which gives special importance to the publication of the Walters ms. The authors, fully aware of this, selected as the first manuscript in the Walters Collection to be published in facsimile, this crudely illustrated book of proverbs, rather than one of the more refined manuscripts which the gallery possesses in great number. The text, furthermore, "preserves for us early versions of hitherto unsigalled proverbs, of proverbs known only from later sources or from other languages, and of expressions not hitherto recognized as proverbial . . ."

The proverbs and the illustrations introduce us to a body of late medieval content which, for its currency, must be considered along with the far better known Christian and the (somewhat later) humanist or antique-mythological. Though proverbs are known and used in almost every



culture, they were especially popular in the Middle Ages, which sought to establish formulae for the ordering of daily experience as well as for the religious, intellectual, and imaginative life. The proverbs reveal to us not only the ideals and professed beliefs of the great body of people of the Middle Ages, but also, in an unusually clear way, their relationship to these ideals: their practice. The proverbs arise out of a realm of experience that is determined less by particular historical conditions than by relatively invariable human traits and social relations, so that they are more immediately intelligible to us than any other medieval form. "Let sleeping dogs lie" seems as contemporary as "You can't unscramble eggs," one of the newest proverbs (composed by the late J. P. Morgan). The immediate intelligibility of the Walters proverbs is, however, enhanced by the fact that they evidently embody the practical wisdom not so much of feudal, but of early bourgeois society. Many of the proverbs deal with buying and selling and with money.

Illustrations of proverbs of an earlier date than those in the Walters ms. are apparently very rare, and Miss Miner observes that "the very naiveté and lack of force in these pictures suggest that their designer was faced with a fairly new and untried theme." This theme—the illustration of proverbs—is, it would seem to us, a difficult one. Proverbs usually depend, for their full effect, on their verbal form and structure, qualities which cannot be translated directly into pictures. They often involve, furthermore, comparatives and judgments, difficult to express in illustrations (and they usually imply a speaker, who is absent in the Walters designs, but introduced in the later—early sixteenth century—illustrations in Bib. Nat. fr. 24461, one folio of which is reproduced by Miner and Frank). A proverb is really incomplete in itself, and tends to lose its metaphorical character and its "point" unless it is related to a situation. The Walters drawings do not present a situation with a proverb as "titulus," which is one method of illustration that suggests itself; they are always limited to the proverbs themselves, or, more exactly, to certain words in the proverbs, and they exclude the situations to which the proverbs are applied in the text, though something of a situation is engendered in the very process of illustration itself. For all these reasons, in addition to the limited capacity of the artist himself, the Walters pictures seem rather lame to us, though actually in most respects they exemplify the medieval tendency to personify or substantiate ideas, qualities, and figures of speech. And it is evident that the illustrator of the Walters proverbs (as well as the author of the assumed prototype), active in the late fifteenth century, belongs for the most part to the medieval tradition. For despite the naturalism of certain forms such as costumes and buildings, he selects for illustration primarily the substantives, he tends to convey human feelings and even actions by symbols and attributes, rather than by facial expression and behavior; and the relation between people, or between people and things, is often one of position alone. He illustrates, for example, the proverb "He leaps from cock to ass" by showing an ass, and a man standing on a cock. Thus the iconography has much of the timeless, static character of medieval representations of even so mobile a subject as Apollo and Daphne. It is solemn, didactic, and, like most of the text, contains little, if any, humor even where humor is implicit in the proverb itself. Indecent proverbs, moreover, are not included in the Walters ms.

Investigation of the representation of proverbs on the "margin" of medieval art—in the borders of manuscripts and small carvings on cloister capitals—would probably disclose some expression of the humorous character of many of the proverbs. Humor enters into the proverbs of Bosch, and becomes pervasive in the proverb illustrations of Peter Bruegel in the late sixteenth century. Bruegel, like the illustrators of proverbs in the group of manuscripts

discussed above, represents the proverb alone without circumstances to which it might be applied. But the proverbial metaphors are now recreated in visual terms in such a way that they no longer have any didactic significance, and they all seem humorous or even ludicrous. And when a great number of proverbs are brought together, as in the village setting in Bruegel's Berlin panel, the extraordinary actions which are set forth in the proverbs as aberrations seem to become the norm of human activity. Furthermore, while Bruegel does not represent proverbs for the sake of moral instruction, he does not use them, either, simply to make fun of people; he makes fun of the proverbs themselves. The big fish (in his drawing in the Albertina, Tolnai 28) eats the little fish, according to the proverb, but then the big fish, in his turn, lies ill on the shore, glutted and gorged, and his belly is slit open by a man with a large knife, releasing the little fish. Bruegel manifests towards traditional proverbial wisdom the same sceptical, philosophical, and deeply humorous attitude that he shows towards Christian dogma and antique mythology.

MILLARD MEISS

MY LIFE IN ARCHITECTURE. By Ralph Adams Cram. 325 pp.; Boston, Little Brown and Co., 1936. 8vo. \$3.50.

The voice of a sage is heard, splendidly articulate, commenting on the past hundred years and on the present. The author, a humanist in the scholastic sense, an eclectic in architecture, a Unitarian by birth and a Catholic by choice, is charming and profound, reasonable and mystical. His book is philosophically comparable in its underlying theme to Alexis Carrel's *Man the Unknown*: the cataclysm threatening our civilization is not irremediable, and is vital to avoid in order that a new era may be born with the benefit of preserved experience. For architects and art historians this autobiography, with architecture as its focal point, presents ideas which form a stimulating balance to the theories and literature of contemporary functionalists.

Mr. Cram has, of course, been one of America's leading architects since 1890; and he is today its most prominent eclectic. He still believes that we should look to the Middle Ages for guidance not only in architecture, but in theology, politics, economics.

Of interest in this autobiography is the exposition of an eclectic's origin, development, and thought processes. The mutations in his eclecticism have been direct results of his intellectuality, of contacts with dynamic personalities and books, and of European sojourns. Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* and Henry Adams' *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* profoundly influenced him. His friend, Henry Randall, gave him the stained glass of Catholicism which has since colored his every view. From 1900 to 1910 he made frequent trips to England and northern France, and, as a result, his architectural work of those years shows an almost unmitigated influence of Gothic, and especially of English Gothic. Later journeys to Palermo and Monreale, and to Spain, greatly enlarged his perspective and turned his theories from "pure styles" to a belief that any and all styles may be combined if the purpose, cultural connotation and aesthetic unity of the building—as consciously determined—can include them. Other experiences further enlarged his horizon. Apparently eclecticism is inevitable in an artist of Mr. Cram's era, temper, and breed; and one becomes sure that it makes the man no less great. Such a man is so immersed in history and tradition that what we may call his intuitive creative impulses find outlet only through the filter of acquired intellectual knowledge. In so doing they lose aesthetic intensity and purity. (Lorado Taft, in sculpture, was another example of an artist-humanist, the literalness of whose conceptions lessened their strength as sculpture—at least according to an aesthetic approach widely followed today.)

As a sample of Mr. Cram's intellectualizing, a paragraph



or two explaining his original decision to stand for Gothic as a style: "I therefore evolved a theory that this particular style, which had been the perfect expression of Northern and Western Christianity for five centuries, and belonged to us, if we claimed it, by right of descent, had not suffered a natural death at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but had been most untimely cut off by the synchronizing of the Classical Renaissance and the Protestant Revolution. Intensive study of both the history and the monuments of the time, as I was able to pursue this in later years, has given no reason for me to reverse or modify this conclusion.

"To continue with my thesis: The obvious inference was that the thing for me was to take up English Gothic at the point where it was cut off during the reign of Henry VIII and go on from that point, developing the style England had made her own and along what might be assumed to be logical lines, with due regard to the changing conditions of contemporary culture. This of course meant using English Perpendicular Gothic . . . as the basis of what we hoped to do. As for its development, the course was laid down and the precedent established by John D. Sedding, at that time the most vital and inspiring of contemporary English ecclesiastical architects. This then, was the credo of Cram and Wentworth, and for a considerable term of years we stuck to it with an unshaken rigidity."

Since 1918, however, the buildings erected by his firm have shown a wide range of stylistic antecedents: English, Spanish, and French Gothic, and these three combined; late Greek-Byzantine and Mexican Renaissance, plus Italian Renaissance for insurance buildings, the Colonial of colleges and schools and the "functional-modernistic" of the Boston Federal Building.

Mr Cram's sentence: "Art is a result, not a product" is the key to his attitude toward all art. The period of 1830-1880, he calls the Dark Ages of American architecture; and he relates it to the spread of American democracy concurrent with the election of Jackson: "The tendency of all republics inevitably to decline on democracy, with a servile and proletarian dominance on the one hand, or definite dictatorships on the other . . . had been in process for some time; now it came full-flower. Hitherto, the Republic had been explicitly aristocratic, selective, even fastidious in the choices it made. From then on it was to be democratic, egalitarian, indifferent to the selection of the best. The frontiersman came into power."

By 1880, what he calls "The American Renaissance" in architecture had begun—as a result of the shock administered to national pride by the sight of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, and as a result of the fact that the American Institute of Architects took on new life and the schools of architecture of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Columbia began systems of consistent training. Students started to go over to the *Ecole des Beaux Arts*. Then Richardson came upon the scene, and his masculine strength plus the feminine quality of McKim's genius engendered a new creativeness. A third factor in the renaissance was "the exuberant romanticism of Carrère and Hastings," adding the influence of Spanish Renaissance to the Romanesque of Richardson and the Roman Classic of McKim. In addition to these, Mr. Cram imports more Gothic through the help of the young Englishman, Henry Vaughan. The years between 1880 and 1900, the author considers the most remarkable in American architectural history, for in so brief a space of time architecture was given a wholly new direction and at the close stood in the front of all the work of the Western world.

Of his coterie of friends in Boston in the last years of the nineteenth century, he writes, "To us it was a golden age,

with the promise of high fulfillment. Everything seemed to open out around us like the bursting of enormous fireworks. We thought we were chosen people in a chosen time." And he is speaking of young men and women working and thinking in the liberal arts. Today one is apt to find such hopefulness and enthusiasm only among students of the physical sciences: chemistry, astronomy, physics, medicine; and not among many of them—because of the current chaos in social, industrial, and international relations.

In connection with the Renaissance of American architecture Louis Sullivan is not mentioned. The author gives him a place however, in speaking of the competition for St. John's, "The second design, that by Halsey Wood, was simply astounding . . . anticipating by some years the significant trend towards vital design that ultimately was initiated by that equally great genius Louis Sullivan, and carried forward by that active but less responsible genius, Frank Lloyd Wright . . ." Mr. Cram is generous in giving credit and praise to his colleagues. He cannot say enough in appreciation of his partner Bertram Goodhue, whose Nebraska State Capitol he rates as perhaps the greatest example of vital modern architecture in the United States.

From an aesthetic point of view much of modern art is condemned, some praised; but from an historical point of view it is merely analyzed as a result and condoned as such. The Rice Institute in Texas is proffered as "a sane and logical type of 'Modernism'." Such phrases as "structural integrity" and other Internationalist by-words are used in referring to St. John's and other buildings which offend the eyes of our functionalists.

"Modernism" in all the arts Mr. Cram believes to be merely a fashion and one already out-dated. He calls it "that nervous fad for abnormality . . . which came over from an exhausted and disillusioned Europe . . . the propaganda for which has been even more fantastic and incomprehensible than the thing itself." "Modernism" has continuity, however, in that all of it bears no possible relation to anything that has gone before and in that way expresses the Modern Age, which is hardly fifty years old. "For all those phenomena that are the consequence of the mental, moral, and material development of the last fifty years, this mode of artistic expression it has fashioned for itself can alone reasonably be used:" for a stock exchange, department store, garage, movie palace, airplane hangar. "But," says Mr. Cram, "must they be ugly?" Some are beautiful. Let us differentiate. He approves of Lee Laurie's sculpture, of the painting of Thomas Benton and Grant Wood, but not of "the pathological aberrations of the mainstays of the Museums of Modern Art and the Pittsburgh exhibitions," nor of Le Corbusier's structures, "the sort of thing that seems to have been the realization of the unquiet dreams of a mechanical engineer or an overworked mathematician."

Religion is the motivating factor in Mr. Cram's life. He cares more for spiritual realities than for the realities of modern utilitarianism and functionalism. The World War he writes of as "a bitter commentary on the popular dogma of progressive human evolution;" and in the face of such a commentary he turns more decisively than ever toward Catholicism and to the great constructive period of the Christian Middle Ages as a way out. The restoration of religious art has always been his strongest preoccupation. Also, in conclusion and in justification of his architectural policy, he writes, "What we confront today is the chaos of change when one era comes to its end and another rises to take its place. This being so the architect or other artist can work, so to speak, from hand to mouth. He is and must be an eclectic—an opportunist, if you like."

NANCY MILLETTE

Errata, *THE ART BULLETIN*, XIX, p. 569, caption, read "Sketch Preparatory to the Contract of 1513;" and p. 579, end of the second paragraph, read "Giuliano da Sangallo" for "Antonio da Sangallo."